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# THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF REGINALD POLE.

## VOL. II.

THE SECOND EDITION.

*Nam quis neſcit, primam eſſe Hiſtoriæ legem, Ne quid falſi dicere audeat? deinde, ne quid veri non audeat? ... vult etiam, quoniam in rebus magnis memoriâque dignis, conſilia primùm, deinde acta, poſtea eventus expectantur, et de Conſiliis ſignificari quid Scriptor probet, et in rebus geſtis ſignificari non ſolùm quid actum, aut dictum ſit, ſed etiam quomodo: et cùm de eventu dicatur, ut cauſæ explicentur omnes..... hominumque ipſorum non ſolùm res geſtæ, ſed etiam, qui famâ ac nomine excellant, de cujuſque vitâ atque naturâ.*

CICERO, de Oratore, lib. ii. § 14.

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M DCC LXVII.

BRITISH MUSEUM

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* See Appendix, No. III.

THE

# THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF REGINALD POLE.

## SECT. VII.

*The* CARDINAL, *on the Death of* Henry VIII. *addreſſes an Apology for himſelf to* Edward VI. *Declines the Papacy, vacated by the Death of* Paul III. *And retires from Public Life, till the Acceſſion of Queen* Mary.

WHILST CARDINAL POLE was exerting himſelf at *Trent*, in the public cauſe of Chriſtianity, and advancing in the career of true worth and glory, *Henry* VIII. had finiſhed a life, the courſe of which was marked out by quite different characters from that of his kinſman. I have already followed him through the various ſcenes of guilt which diverſified the ſeveral periods of it, after he left the laudable path, in which he firſt ſat out; and made ſuch reflections on them as they naturally raiſe in a breaſt which is not a ſtranger to the feelings of juſtice, humanity, and religion. The laſt deed

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of plunder and ſacrilege which diſgraces theſe annals, was the ſeizure of what he had ſpared at the diſſolution of the Abbeys, and put an end to further rapine, which he ſtill meditated. A ſpeech he made to the Parliament, a little before his death, ſets forth, in a very ſignificant manner, the diſpoſitions in which he was about to leave the nation, and the effects which the changes in religion, of which he was the author, already had on the temper, the manners, and principles of the *Engliſh*. The general air of the diſcourſe, and the occaſion on which he ſpoke it, ſufficiently indicate that he was in high good humour with both houſes, and therefore give greater weight to his complaints, and to the reality of thoſe evils which cauſed him to make them. I ſhall preſent the reader with a ſummary of the ſpeech, it being like the confeſſion of a dying malefactor, who throws on his aſſociates the whole blame of crimes which were perpetrated at his inſtigation, and by his example.

Having enlarged, in a very ridiculous and aukward manner, on the mutual love which ſubſiſted between him and his parliament, "he thanks them for the ſurrender they had lately made him of the chantries, hoſpitals, and other ſuch foundations; and aſſures them, the revenues ariſing from theſe eſtabliſhments, ſhall be employed in a much more godly manner than they were aware of.—He then tells them, that concord had ceaſed amongſt them, and diſſenſion every where bore rule.—That the Clergy preached one againſt another, taught contrary doctrines, and inveighed againſt each other with as little charity as diſcretion.—That the whole nation was at variance, through the obſtinacy of ſome, and the curioſity of others.—That few or none publiſhed the word of God

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God with truth and ſincerity.—That, unleſs they mended theſe crimes, by ſound doctrine and good living, *he, whom God had appointed his Vicar and high Miniſter, would ſee they did.*"—Having addreſſed this part of his ſpeech to the Biſhops and the chief of the Clergy, he deſcribes the lay Peers and the commons in not more favourable colours: "that they railed at biſhops, ſlandered prieſts, and mocked the preachers of the goſpel; whereas, ſays he, if they had juſt reaſon to find fault with ſpiritual perſons, they ought to have recourſe to him, who had an authority derived from God to reform all ſuch abuſes; and being themſelves by no means qualified to judge of ſuch matters, they were not to take up with their own fantaſtical opinions.—That the Scriptures were diſputed, rhymed, ſung, and jangled in every alehouſe; and thoſe, who read them with more reſpect, were ſtill very faint and remiſs in the practice of their doctrine.—That he was ſure, virtue and good living was never leſs practiſed, nor God himſelf leſs reverenced, honoured or ſerved *."

But allowing that wicked Princes have ſometimes been the inſtruments of great good: no ſingle inſtance can be produced where the Supreme Being, when he was about to reveal to men any important truth, which had been unknown in all paſt ages, or to reclaim them from any exemplary degeneracy, has ever choſe ſo ſcandalous a King, as *Henry* VIII. or ſuch ſervile and corrupt miniſters, both in church and ſtate, as that Prince made uſe of.

About the time of the ſpeech I have related, and the ſeizure of the remaining church endow-

* Lord *Herbert*, page 534.

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ments, a continual courſe of intemperance had brought on *Henry* ſuch a groſs and unwholſom habit of body, that it obliged him to be hoiſted up to the upper apartments of his palace by pullies. His effigy, where he ſpreads and ſwells in puffed unwieldineſs, ſeems no leſs a reſemblance of his mind than body. His temper grew froward in proportion as his ſtrength and ſpirits waſted; and what *Tacitus* ſaith of the diſſimulation of *Tiberius*, when that Prince was in the like ſituation, may be applied to *Henry*'s cruelty, *that it ſtuck to him when every thing elſe failed.* His Queen, *Catharine Par*, diſſenting from him in ſome religious tenets, nothing but great art ſaved her from the ſcaffold, where two of the former partners of his bed had ended their lives. The erroneouſneſs of her opinions, however, had not drawn on her this capital diſpleaſure, but, *becauſe he diſliked to be contradicted in his old age by his wife* *. His royal conſorts ſeem, indeed, to have been, at all times, marked out for this ſportive cruelty and inconſtancy. He had made it high Treaſon for any woman, who was ſo unhappy as to be his choice, not to declare her own incontinence, if ſhe had been guilty of any, before he married her.—Though he repudiated Queen *Catharine* and *Anne* of *Cleves*, on pretext of their being pre-contracted; and compelled the offſpring of the firſt to ſubſcribe to her own illegitimacy; yet, when he had changed his mind, and was about to ſubſtitute that Princeſs, next to *Edward* VI. in the act of ſucceſſion, he made it felony to aſſert, that a prior contract invalidated a ſubſequent marriage with another perſon. All which a ſlaviſh parliament paſſed into law, and the ſtatutes ſtill diſgrace our records.

* Lord *Herbert*, page 560.

As

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As the poiſon of venomous animals is moſt collected in their dying bites, the Earl of *Surry*, ſon to the Duke of *Norfolk*, as gallant and accompliſhed a youth as that or any other age has ſeen, fell a victim to theſe laſt dregs of a diſtempered mind and body: and the Duke his father was condemned to loſe his head by the ſame axe which had ſtruck off that of his ſon. He was attainted; the King had already ſeized his large poſſeſſions, and hurried on the trial on the moſt trivial accuſations, before a profligate houſe of Peers, and with an indecency which creates horror. The long and ſignal ſervices of this nobleman, a perpetual condeſcenſion to all the King's inclinations, and the ſubmiſſions to which he let himſelf down in his laſt diſtreſs, were unavailing pleas for mercy; and, had *Henry*'s life been reſpited one night longer, the Duke was to have been beheaded on the following morning *.

19th *Jan.* 1547.

He died 28th *Jan.* 1547.

I ſhall conclude what I had to ſay of this Prince, by a fact, in which his want of good faith is as odious, as any inſtance of his bloodſhed and violence. It is thus related by CARDINAL POLE, and gives a ſtriking idea of that complete worthleſneſs, of which *Henry* choſe his diſpoſitions ſhould be the pattern.

"In his worſt and moſt unjuſtifiable actions he never failed to allege the motive of conſcience and religion; in which he did no more than *Machiavel* preſcribes, and he had learnt from his diſciple, *Cromwell:* but in the following exigency he departed ſomewhat from this capital leſſon.—There were ſome perſons of conſideration, who lived at their country-ſeats, without appearing at court, and who were obnoxious to him on account of their

* Lord *Herbert*, page 561, &c. and others.

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virtue. He was deſirous to have them in his power, which was no eaſy matter, as they, in their turn, were no leſs on their guard againſt him, and therefore when he ſummoned them, they refuſed to come, unleſs he engaged his royal word for their ſafety. When he underſtood this, he ordered the aſſurance they deſired to be ſent them under his ſign manual; ſhewed them a friendly countenance at their arrival; and, when they looked on themſelves as ſecure from any danger, ordered them to be taken up.—Hitherto, ſays the CARDINAL, he had done nothing contrary to his Preceptor's inſtructions: on the contrary, this proceeding reſults from them; for he lays it down among the chief advantages of religion, that it is the readieſt ſnare by which thoſe we fear may be taken off. But, in what follows, he ſwerved from his maſter's art. For now having the perſons at his diſpoſal, and reſolved their deſtruction, he ſpoke of his deſign publicly; and one who was preſent, having the honeſty to reply, that this could not be done, as they were come up on the aſſurance he had given them of ſafety, he ſeemed to wonder at his ſimplicity for imagining that any engagement ſhould hinder him from killing thoſe he ſuſpected: adding, moreover, that he had engaged his word for that very purpoſe, becauſe otherwiſe they would have kept out of his reach. And what, ſays he, ſhould hinder me, now I have them in my power, and miſtruſt their loyalty, to uſe the right I have over them?—This anſwer, adds the CARDINAL, was remarked by many *."

Thus having lived by no other rule than his own unbridled luſts, and *being come* (as the wiſeſt of

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 1ma, pag. 145.

men

men has obſerved) *by a certain progreſſion of evil, into the depth of it, he laughed at all reſtraint, both human and divine* *. It is not eaſy to affirm, as Lord *Herbert* obſerves, in what ſentiments he died with reſpect to religion. It is affirmed, by *Sanders*, that he was deſirous to be reconciled to the church of *Rome*; and *it was reported*, alſo, that being given over by his phyſicians, and none of his ſervants daring to be the bearer of ſuch diſagreeable news, at length Sir *Anthony Denny* informed him of his condition; which he heard with leſs choler than was expected, and ordered Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, who was at *Croyden*, to be ſent for: that, on his arrival, he found the King ſpeechleſs; but aſking him to give ſome token of his belief, that ſalvation was to be obtained through faith in *Chriſt*, he gently ſqueezed his hand, and expired †. *Sanders*, a cotemporary author, relates, that, during his laſt illneſs, he received the Euchariſt with every ſignification of the moſt profound reverence: but that, his end approaching, he called for a large draught of white wine, and, turning to the perſon who preſented it, ſaid, *all was loſt*, and having drank off the goblet, gave up the ghoſt ‡. And as no writer, except CARDINAL POLE, has ſaid ſo much to this Prince's advantage as the above-mentioned, what he here relates can be as little ſuſpected of ſlander, as other particulars in his commendation, of flattery. In his laſt moments he was overheard to mutter often the word, *Monk:* the natural reſult of a mind labouring with guilt, and haunted by thoſe ſpectres,

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See his treatiſe de ſchiſm. Anglic. fol. 102, a tergo, edit. *Col. Agrip.* 1585.

* Eſt progreſſio in viâ iniquitatis viro indiſciplinato.—Impius, cùm in profundum venerit peccatorum, contemnit. *Prov.* cap xviii. ver. 3. ed. vulg.

† Lord *Herbert*'s life of *Henry* VIII. page 570.

‡ De ſchiſmate Anglicano, folio 102, &c.

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which the wrongs he had done to that body of men, raiſed.—Some time before his death, he cauſed the church of the *Franciſcans*, in *London*, which had been ſhut up, to be opened; ſuppreſſed the ſtews on the bank ſide, and made two or three other diſpoſitions, which have an equivocal reſemblance of goodneſs, and of a ſenſe of religion: but it was too late to teſtify a concern for preſerving ſome of the planks, when the guilty and unſkilful pilot had run the veſſel on thoſe rocks which tore away the rudder, and disjointed the whole frame.

As ſoon as the news of this great event reached the Engliſh CARDINAL, he turned his whole mind to avail himſelf of it, in order to repair the breaches which *Henry* had made in the faith and diſcipline of the church, and bring back his country to that unity, which he had violated. At this time, his cares were divided, as has been ſaid, between *Rome*, where he was at the head of the Pope's council, and his government of *Viterbo*. The firſt ſtep he took in order to bring about the deſign he meditated, was to write to *Paul* III. "That he, the Pope, had now an opportunity anſwerable to the greatneſs of his own ſoul, and to the exigencies of the times, of procuring to himſelf immortal glory, and doing a ſervice to the chriſtian world, than which no greater could be imagined—He tells him, that although the principal part of this undertaking was to be the effect of his own prudence and reſolution, yet a great deal might be effected by the Emperor; and therefore, it was of great importance that a perſon ſhould be ſent to that Prince, who was agreeable to him, and qualified for ſuch a negotiation. —That he knew no one ſo fit as the Cardinal of *Trent*, both with reſpect to the *Engliſh* affairs, as

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to many other concerns of moment, which were ſoon to be treated between his Holineſs and the Imperial Court, and therefore his earneſt requeſt was, that this Prelate might be one of the Legates who were to be ſent thither.——That he wrote theſe few lines in haſte, not to let ſlip the firſt opportunity of opening his mind to the Pope, but that he would ſhortly explain himſelf more amply *."

He begins the following letter, "by repreſenting again the great weight of the Emperor in bringing the affairs of *England* to a happy iſſue: but that this influence could never be exerted to the purpoſe, unleſs there was a good underſtanding between that Prince and his Holineſs. That, in order to procure ſuch a reconciliation, much would depend on the character of him, who was employed in the embaſſy: that he ſhould be a perſon of prudence and experience, of whoſe attachment the Emperor could have no miſgivings, and of whoſe counſels and good offices he had already made trial.——That ſagacity and diſcernment would be requiſite to make an eſtimate of thoſe who had the Emperor's confidence, and to render themſelves acceptable to him.——That, if it was a difficult matter to meet with all theſe qualifications in the ſame perſon, he much deſired the Cardinal of *Trent*, of whoſe diſintereſtedneſs and abilities there were ſuch proofs, might be one of the embaſſy.—That, if there was any reaſon, of which he was ignorant, for not employing him in this affair, it might be convenient to ſend him beforehand; but this was to be done in ſuch manner, as this prelate might not look on himſelf as ſlighted; and he muſt be given to underſtand, that a condeſcenſion for the *French* court was the mo-

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4ta, pag. 38.

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tive of the embaſſy not being conferred on himſelf: and that many plauſible reaſons might be aſſigned for this circumſpection. You are acquainted, Holy Father, continues the CARDINAL, with the temper of *Madrucius*: he never thinks he has done any thing, in whatever he undertakes, till he has brought it to a concluſion. You know his readineſs to ſecond your intentions, and his zeal for the public ſervice: and you are ſenſible of what moment ſuch diſpoſitions are. Several are of opinion, that the miſunderſtanding which ſubſiſts between your Holineſs and the Emperor, is owing to the officiouſneſs of certain perſons, who, that they may appear to have at heart the reſpective intereſts of their maſters, and forfeit no part of their favour, are little ſolicitous about the common welfare, and have alienated thoſe, who, otherwiſe, would have been of great uſe *."

About the ſame time, he wrote to the Privy Council of *England*. The letter is in *Latin*, according to the uſage of thoſe times, and to the following effect.—" Although, my Lords, when I heard of the late King's death, yet, as different rumours were ſpread abroad, I was neither informed to whom the crown was devolved, or of any thing concerning the ſtate of the kingdom; I knew, however, that nothing could be reſolved concerning the affairs of the nation, but by the high Court of Parliament, which is accuſtomed to be called immediately on the acceſſion, in order to ſwear allegiance to the ſucceſſor, to provide for the ſafety of the kingdom, and hear thoſe, who may think themſelves wronged. On this account, ſome things have occurred to me, of ſuch moment, that unleſs they are weighed by your Lordſhips with great deliberation, and decided

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4ta, pag. 39.

with

with an equal rectitude and regard to religion, the whole realm may be brought into imminent danger. I seized, therefore, the first opportunity of opening my mind to your Lordships, and, not to be wanting in any thing, on my part, have sent this letter by a person, who might further communicate to you what I judge may be of use in the present juncture. As to the wrongs I, and those who belong to me, have sustained in the late reign, and which have reduced one of the first and most flourishing families in the kingdom to almost total ruin; the natural affection I bear to persons so nearly related to me, does not, indeed, permit me to be indifferent about their welfare, and neglect this opportunity, which your present meeting affords, of laying their case before your Lordships. I must say the same of many others, who, being reduced to the same straits, in their adverse fortune had recourse to me. Yet, my Lords, I shall ask nothing, either at this or any other time, but what is consistent with the public tranquillity; and the safety of those whom divine providence shall place at the head of the government. It is my desire, my Lords, it has ever been so, that public emolument should take place of all private considerations: and this principle is more necessary at this juncture, than it has yet been; for unless we strengthen the common weal, the care of our own fortunes will be to little purpose. In these troublesom and difficult circumstances, I acknowledge the watchful goodness of an all-powerful God over us, in giving to his people, in this time of need, a Pontiff, who, to say nothing more, bears my country the affection of a father; and, on many accounts, is as able, as willing to be useful to her: and, as an instance of these dispositions, proposes to send me to you, that I may not only suggest salutary measures, but bring with me

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me means ſuited to the removal of our evils, provided they are accepted with the ſame diſpoſitions with which they are offered *."—It will ceaſe to ſeem ſtrange to the Reader, that the CARDINAL ſhould write in this manner to the Privy Council, when he reflects, that the Houſe of Lords not only wrote to him a common letter, on his being about to publiſh the Work he had inſcribed to *Henry*, but each one of them ſigned it.—This letter, as we learn from the CARDINAL, had no effect: the members of the Privy Council refuſed to receive either the meſſage, or him who brought it.

*Edward* had ſcarce filled the throne, when ſeveral Acts againſt different tenets of the ancient belief were preparing to be brought into the Houſe: and the Emperor, who had notice of it, ſignified his reſentment to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador in very high terms. The Acts were not paſſed ſo ſoon as was imagined; and the CARDINAL, who ſeems to think this delay owing to that Prince's authority, and that he had been wrought on to behave in this manner by his Confeſſor, *Dominic Soto* †, wrote to him, "that the information he had received of what had paſſed between the Emperor and the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, had encouraged him to ſend two of his houſhold, with letters and inſtructions for the Court of *England*; and had or-

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4ta, pag. 42.

† *Soto* was, as himſelf informs us, a Gardener's ſon: and having finiſhed his ſtudies, became a *Dominican*. He appeared with great applauſe at the Council of *Trent*, where his good qualities recommended him to the *Engliſh* LEGATE *Charles* V. made choice of him for his Confeſſor, employed him in ſeveral important affairs, and would have promoted him to the Biſhopric of *Segovia*; but he refuſed that dignity. He was generally eſteemed for his piety, prudence, and learning; and his writings ſtill ſhew in what an eminent degree he poſſeſſed the latter advantage.

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dered them to take the Emperor's Court in their way, and confer with him *(Soto)* on the buſineſs they were charged with: and exhorts him to take every favourable opportunity of cheriſhing the laudable diſpoſitions the Emperor was in, with reſpect to the concerns of his country. At the ſame time he informs him, that he had already attempted to open a correſpondence with *England*, but to no purpoſe; and though, ſome days ago, an incident had fallen out that determined him to make a ſecond effort, it was with little hopes of ſucceſs *." SECT. VII. *Romæ*, 8 Id. *April.* 1547.

The diſappointment which attended the CARDINAL's late endeavours, and thoſe he was now making, did not hinder him, ſome time after, from another undertaking, which, though equally unſucceſsful, as to the purpoſe for which it was intended, has anſwered another, that of tranſmitting to poſterity, one of the moſt entertaining and inſtructive pieces, that genuine eloquence and goodneſs of heart ever produced. This is a treatiſe inſcribed to *Edward* VI. through the whole of which he addreſſes himſelf to that young Prince, and makes an apology for his own conduct during his father's reign. The temper and moderation of a ſpeaker pleading for himſelf is every where kept up: and there is a reach of thought, a chain of reaſoning, and an air of unaffected integrity not only diffuſed over the whole in general, but ſtamped on every diviſion of it. The noble writer's high birth, the great inſight he had in the art of government, give a dignity and weight to the obſervations he makes, not only on thoſe who direct the councils of Sovereigns, but on their own ſacred perſons, whom he always conſiders as under the ſtricteſt obligation of attending to the du-

* Epiſt. *R. Poli* pars 4ta, pag. 44.

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ties of their ſtation, as expoſed to the eyes of the public, and as accountable, ſome time or other, to a tribunal more awful than their own. A copy of this valuable piece, and, perhaps, the only one extant *, which had formerly been in the poſſeſſion of Cardinal *Hoſius*, the author's intimate friend, was publiſhed ſome years ago, by one of the academy of *Leipſic*, with that good faith which ſhould always attend ſuperior learning. It has, likewiſe, been inſerted by Cardinal *Quirini*, to whom the *German* profeſſor made a preſent of the original, in the collection of CARDINAL POLE's letters; and I have had occaſion, in the courſe of this Work, to relate ſome facts from it, and have referred the reader to the paſſages.

1737. *Schelhorn*, Amœnitates Literariæ, t. 1. tom. 4.

It is probable this fine remonſtrance was never permitted to reach the Prince, to whom it is addreſſed. He was ſurrounded by perſons, who were the declared enemies of all ſuch ſentiments; and they had taken care to inſtil into him their own, both with reſpect to the principles on which this diſcourſe proceeded, and to every thing which had any relation to it. He was of a tender and unpromiſing conſtitution, but had very acute parts, and was a proficient in the branches of learning he had been made acquainted with, much above his years. Thoſe, to whom his education was intruſted, had made uſe of this aptitude, to train him up to prejudices, by which young

* Though this treatiſe was written with a view to be prefixed to the CARDINAL's Work *on the Church's Unity*; yet it is neither in the *Roman* edition of that work, printed without date; nor in that of *Straſbourg*, printed with the notes of *Vigerius*, in 1555; nor in that of *Ingolſtadt*, of 1587; nor in the great work of the pontifical Library, publiſhed by *Rocchaberti*, in 1698, though the compiler, in his preface, mentions it amongſt CARDINAL POLE's Works: nor as Cardinal *Quirini* informs us, in any of the manuſcript copies.

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minds are made to conceive an averſion to truth, before they are informed what it is. The very ſubject of the exerciſes, by which they formed his ſtyle, were miſrepreſentations of ſome article or other of the Catholic Religion. He was never allowed to ſee it in its real appearance, but had a ſpectre conſtantly placed before him in its ſtead. In virtue of the Supremacy, to which he had ſucceeded, the Biſhops were informed, "that all juriſdiction, eccleſiaſtical and civil, flowed from him, as from the ſupreme Head of the whole body; and that he granted them full power, which was to continue during his pleaſure, to exerciſe their ſacred functions, and confer holy Orders." And they took out their commiſſions according to the tenour of his royal mandate *. The leading part of the Miniſtry were bent on ſubverting every meaſure the CARDINAL had recommended to the young King; and on the eſtabliſhment of thoſe tenets, whoſe pernicious conſequences he had ſo much inſiſted on: in a word, aboliſhing the ancient Religion. SECT. VII.

This will appear from what was practiſed with reſpect to the holy Euchariſt; on which I ſhall be ſomething particular, becauſe from hence a conjecture may be formed of the treatment which rites of a leſs ſacred nature met with. In order to diſpoſe the minds of men to theſe changes, preachers were ſent about the kingdom, to diſſuade the people from aſſiſting at maſs; from the invocation of ſaints, veneration of their images; from praying for the dead, proceſſions, and ſeveral other articles concerning the ſacraments and pious uſages, which all antiquity had received with reverence, and practiſed with profit. Soon after, the altars were taken down, *to withdraw the people* Dr *Burnet.*

* *Collier's* Church Hiſtory, part 2, book 3, page 169.

*from*

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*from the opinion of the maſs:* and a contention aroſe, not only about the ſhape and name of what was to be ſet up in its room, whether it was to be the *Lord's table*, or *board*; but alſo, concerning the ſituation. It was, firſt, placed at the upper end of the church, where the high altar had ſtood; and then advanced forwards, that there might be a paſſage between the table and the wall. It was now placed to the eaſt; now to the weſt; now to the other two points: the Miniſters not agreeing which way to turn their faces. The ſacred veſtments, and decent habit of the Clergy were decried; and the uſe introduced of receiving the Sacrament ſitting; and an eye-witneſs informs us, that he had ſeen a Curate leave the pulpit, and preach to the people from an elm-tree in the church-yard: and then return to the church, and leave the high altar, to ſing the communion ſervice on a tomb with his face to the north. This profane licentiouſneſs gave ſuch offence, in the firſt year of *Edward*'s reign, that it was judged neceſſary to have an Act of Parliament paſſed, "againſt ſuch as ſpoke againſt the Sacrament of the altar." Impiety went ſtill greater lengths, (it is with reluctance that I repeat ſuch horrors) and men affirmed, that this memorial and pledge of our ranſom was of little worth; and in many places it was uſed with the greateſt indignities, thrown out of the churches, and other enormities committed.

*J. Stow.*

Though the full harveſt of Sacrilege had been reaped in the former reign, yet the images of the ſaints, and the ſhrines which contained their ſacred remains, the plate, jewels, and other coſtly ornaments, afforded large gleanings, and were, the ſame year, by the King's order, ſeized, and the ſpoil divided amongſt thoſe who adviſed the ſacrilege, or under whoſe authority it was perpetrated. Soon after, an order of the King and Privy Council

Regiſter-book of the pariſh of *Petworth.*

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cil forbad aſhes to be received at the beginning of *Lent*, and candles and palms to be carried on the days that bear thoſe names: and the Lords paſſed an act, by which they inforced the King's former injunction, for taking down all images, which either had not been removed, or were replaced as ſoon as the firſt heat of the royal viſitation was over.

But that the reader may view, in one ſingle group, all the different images of which rapine can be compoſed, I ſhall preſent him with a picture of impious greatneſs, which imagines it may attempt any thing, becauſe it can do ſo with impunity. That ſtately fabric, which ſtill bears the name of him who raiſed it, was built by the Duke of *Somerſet*, on the ruins of the pariſh church of the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, and of three epiſcopal houſes. The cloiſters of St. *Paul*'s were likewiſe taken down, and the materials appropriated to the ſame uſe; as were thoſe of *Barking* chapel, near the Tower. The pariſh church of St. *Ewen*, within Newgate; the college church of St. *Martin le Grand*, near the ſhambles, and the pariſh church of St. *Nicholas*, in the ſame neighbourhood, were intirely pulled down. St. *Margaret*'s, *Weſtminſter*, was doomed to the like deſtruction, and for the ſame purpoſe; but the workmen had no ſooner advanced the ſcaffolds, when the pariſhioners aſſaulted them with ſuch fury, with ſtaves, clubs, and arrows, that they ran away terrified, and could never be prevailed on to return to a ſecond attempt. And this pile of ſacrilege was reared in the very year that *England* was afflicted with a peſtilence, which ſwept away thouſands. I have entered on this detail, becauſe I ſuppoſe the whole records of Chriſtendom do not furniſh another ſuch example.

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As the itch of novelty ſpread wider, a curate advanced, that the names of churches and of the days of the week, ſhould be changed. Others taught, that abſtinence from fleſh ſhould be kept on any days but *Friday* and *Saturday*; and *Lent*, at any other time than between *Shrovetide* and *Eaſter*. A preacher, at St. *Paul*'s croſs, informed his audience, that *Lent* was a political ordinance, and might be ſet aſide at pleaſure. This was followed by crying down all diſtinctions of days and times, and libelling that ancient and religious faſt in the moſt ſcandalous rhymes: however, on Biſhop *Gardiner*'s complaint, a proclamation came forth, which injoined the obſervance of *Lent*, and the King's *Lenten* diet was ſerved up as formerly. It is remarkable, that theſe innovations were no leſs repugnant to the ſix articles which the late King had made the ſtandard of orthodoxy, and enforced by the ſevereſt penalties, than to the doctrine of the Catholic Church: theſe, therefore, were repealed, and the tenets of *Zuinglius*, ſo much deteſted by that Prince, began to gain the aſcendant.

The ſpirit of religious giddineſs having now taken poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, gave riſe to a great variety of ſects, which agreed as little among themſelves, as with the church whoſe communion they had left. The Goſpellers began to appear, who aſſerted the blaſphemous doctrine of *Calvin*, that God is the author of ſin. The Anabaptiſts publiſhed their dotages, and Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, when he examined ſome of them, who were about to renounce their errors, took his ſeat on an altar of the bleſſed Virgin in St. *Paul*'s church.

Theſe various modes of doctrine were not the growth of our country only, but ſeveral foreigners, who had ſignalized themſelves the ſame way, were invited over by the Protector, who was an avowed

avowed favourer of the *Zuinglian* tenets, and kept up a correſpondence with *Calvin*: and by the Primate, who being eager, at all events, to have the ancient religion intirely aboliſhed, was indifferent as to the opinions which were ſet up in its place. *Peter Martyr* and *Ochin* were particularly employed to compile a liturgy: they were both monks, who had deſerted their profeſſion and entered on a married ſtate, which, though *honourable in all*, who are free to embrace it, cannot but be greatly diſhonoured by thoſe who have vowed engagements with which it is incompatible. *Martyr* was a profeſſed *Zuinglian*; and *Ochin* became, afterwards, a declared enemy of the divinity of JESUS CHRIST. *John Alaſco* came over, about the ſame time, with a colony from *Poland*, and beſides the errors of *Zuinglius*, and other frenzies of his own, found out twelve different meanings of the words of the inſtitution of the Euchariſt; and rejected Baptiſm, which, he ſaid, was become an idolatry. SECT. VII.

I have only related matter of fact, in which all hiſtory is agreed *; and ſhall content myſelf with adding

* *Boſſuet*, Variat. des Egliſ. prot. p. 1. l. 7. § 77, &c.
Dr. *Heylyn*'s preface to the Hiſtory of the Reformat. and his Hiſt. in *Edw.* VI.
*Collier*'s Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, vol. 2. book 4.
*Echard*'s Hiſtory of *England*, vol. 2. p. 311, and 312.
*Burnet*'s Hiſtory of the Reformation, vol. 3. p. 216; *Churchill*'s edit. 1715.
*Camden*'s Introd. to the Annals of Q. *Elizabeth*, p. 5.
Mr. *Hume*, throughout *Edward* VIth's reign.
I ſhall aſk leave to cite a paſſage of Dr. *Burnet* from the place above marked, as his authority, in this caſe, will generally be leſs objected to, than that of moſt others. "The untimely death of King *Edward* was looked on, by all people, as a juſt judgment of God, upon thoſe who pretended to love and promote a reformation, but whoſe impious and flagitious lives were a reproach to it. The open lewdneſs, in which many lived, without ſhame or remorſe, gave great occaſion to our adver-

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adding one obſervation of the Catholics of thoſe times †; that when men depart from the authority of the church, they loſe all criterion of truth and falſhood, in matters of religion, and muſt neceſſarily *be carried about by every wind of doctrine.* The minds of the *Engliſh* let looſe from the obligation of ſubmitting to any mode of religion and eſtabliſhed faith, became like the needle, deprived of its magnetic virtue, which points indiſcriminately to all parts, and affords no direction to the bewildered mariner.

† *White* of *Lincoln*, in his charge on Bp. *Ridley*. *Weſton*, prolocutor to the conv. 1ſt of *Mary*. *Miles Hubbard* diſplay of proteſtants.

In all theſe revolutions the frame of the ſtate had not been leſs convulſed than that of the church. The numerous regency, which *Henry* had appointed during his ſon's minority, was immediately ſet aſide, and the young Prince's uncle, the Duke of *Somerſet*, inveſted with the whole power. The pretence made uſe of, was, that the dignity of government could not be maintained, if it was divided among many. But the diſcontents which the changes in religion, of which he was known to be the principal abettor; and the inſolence and rapacity, with which he exerted an almoſt ſove-

ſaries to ſay, they were in the right to aſſert juſtification by faith without works, ſince they were, as to every good, reprobate. Their groſs and inſatiable ſcrambling after the goods and wealth that had been dedicated with good deſigns, though to ſuperſtitious uſes, without applying part of it to the promoting the goſpel, the inſtructing the youth, and relieving the poor, made all people conclude, that it was for robbery, not for reformation, that their zeal made them ſo active." The marginal note on this paſſage is, *A character of the court in* Edward's *time.* And in the following page, " their irregular and immoral lives gave their enemies great advantages to ſay, they run away from confeſſion, penance, faſting and prayers, only that they might be under no reſtraint, but indulge themſelves in a licentious and diſſolute life. . . . the people grew to look on all the changes that had been made as deſigns to enrich ſome vicious courtiers; and to let in an inundation of vice and wickedneſs upon the nation."

reign

reign ſway, cauſed the people to riſe up in arms, at different times and in different places of the kingdom. Theſe commotions firſt appeared in the county of *Wilts*, *Oxford*, and *Glouceſter*; and ſoon communicated themſelves to the neighbourhood of *Hampſhire*, *Suſſex*, and *Kent*: but the inſurrections in *Cornwal*, *Devonſhire*, and *Norfolk*, threatened not only the tranquillity of thoſe provinces, but of the whole kingdom. The demands of the inſurgents ſufficiently ſhew what the ſentiments of the bulk of the people ſtill were with reſpect to the ancient worſhip; and they declared, they were ready to return to their former obedience, as ſoon as the grievances they complained of were redreſſed. SECT. VII. 1549.

Their firſt demand was, that they might be allowed to have maſs celebrated, as in ancient times, in which they believed that the very body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt was contained.

That pariſh prieſts might adminiſter Baptiſm at any time, in caſe of neceſſity.

That children might be confirmed by the Biſhop.

That there might be holy bread and holy water, as a memorial of Chriſt's bleſſed body and blood.

That the holy Euchariſt might be kept in churches.

That prieſts might live in celibacy.

That the ſix articles, ſet forth by the late King, might be obſerved.—By theſe, the belief of the real preſence: communion under one kind: the obligation of vows of chaſtity: the utility of private maſſes: the celibacy of prieſts: the neceſſity of auricular confeſſion were eſtabliſhed.

They requeſted, that ſome abbeys might be rebuilt, and their lands reſtored to the former poſſeſſors.

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They further remonſtrated; that the free-born community was oppreſſed by a ſmall number of gentry, who glutted themſelves with pleaſure, whilſt the poor commons were waſted with labour, and, like pack-horſes, lived in extreme ſlavery.

That holy rites, eſtabliſhed by antiquity, were aboliſhed, and new authorized; and a new form of religion obtruded, to the ſubjecting their ſouls, who conformed to it, to pains which were not to end with death.

That they thought it neceſſary to have new counſellors placed about the King, during his minority; and thoſe removed, who ruling as they liſted, confounded things ſacred and profane; and paid attention to nothing but enriching themſelves with the public treaſure, that they might riot in the nation's calamities.

That, therefore, they deſired CARDINAL POLE'S attainder might be reverſed; and he ſent for over, and made one of the privy council.

As the Duke had the power of cruſhing thoſe who complained, no regard was paid to their remonſtrances; and they were either diſperſed or beat wherever they appeared in the field. Beſides large levies raiſed at home; that he might have a conſiderable military force, on whoſe ſervice he could thoroughly rely, he had ſeveral regiments of Walloons, and *German* Lutherans, who had been ſent for to awe the *Engliſh* at that critical juncture; and having nothing in common with the nation, were intirely at his beck, whoſe pay they received.

The fall of him, who had either been the author, or given occaſion to all theſe diſorders, muſt be placed among thoſe revolutions, which had been cauſed by them. This haughty uſurper of the royal authority had left his nephew juſt as much

much of it as was neceſſary to enable himſelf to exert it in the full extent. He had taken the title of *Duke of Somerſet, by the divine permiſſion*; was acknowledged ſole Regent and Protector of the kingdom; and had a ſtool placed on the throne, which almoſt equalled him to his ſovereign. The manner in which he executed his vengeance on his brother, the Admiral, laid him open to his enemies, and has, more than any one miſdeed of ſo exceptionable a regency, contributed to make his memory odious. SECT. VII.

Having cauſed him to be attainted, and the bill being laid before the Upper Houſe, the accounts which ſome of the Peers gave of the Admiral's conduct, were received as legal evidence: and not one had the integrity to move, that he might be heard in his own defence, and confronted with his accuſers. The Commons were more ſcrupulous; but, on receiving a meſſage from the King, requiring them to proceed, they acquieſced without further difficulty, and the bill paſſed in a very full houſe: near four hundred voted for it, and not above four againſt it. The Protector ſigned the warrant, and his brother was executed, ſoon after, on *Tower-Hill*. Theſe were the leſſons of juſtice, in which he inſtructed his royal pupil. His elevation, at length, made his fall more irretrievable; and that he might exemplify in his own perſon this ſcripture truth, that *men are puniſhed in the way they offend*, he fell a victim to the intrigues of one, who, if poſſible, was more ambitious than himſelf. But though any further account of this event does not belong to this work, I cannot diſmiſs it, without obſerving, that an adminiſtration only of a few years, was long enough to make the nation experience that *woe*, which is denounced *againſt a land, whoſe King is a child, and whoſe nobles are luxurious*.

*March* 28, 1549.

The Earl of *Northumberland*

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In the midſt of theſe confuſions with which mad ambition, and ſtill wilder fanaticiſm, ſhook his country to the center, an incident happened, which gave CARDINAL POLE an opportunity of ſhewing a moderation of deſires, and greatneſs of ſoul, more extraordinary than thoſe domeſtic examples of the oppoſite vices, which I have here related. He was now come to that time of life, when eminence of ſtation is wont to be the favourite object; and few, even of the wiſe and good, ſtand in need of many arguments to perſuade themſelves they are qualified for the higheſt poſts; and to be prevailed on, if not to ſeek them, at leaſt to acquieſce in a choice made in their favour.

49th year.

He was at the head of the Pope's council, and governor of *Viterbo*, when *Paul* III. died, and the ſacred college, which was at that time very numerous, met, as is uſual, to chooſe a ſucceſſor. The place deſtined for this purpoſe is called the *Conclave*, from the number of chambers which compoſe it; the name, which is of *Latin* derivation, ſignifying an inward or private apartment: and though the Cardinals are at liberty to hold this aſſembly where they think proper, yet, for many years, the Vatican palace, which joins St. *Peter*'s church, has been made uſe of on theſe occaſions. The majeſty and ſecurity of the place, the eaſe with which it is guarded; the conveniency of water; the courts, galleries, and number of ſtately rooms, with which it abounds, making it more ſuitable than any other building. The place for the conclave is choſen in ſome convenient part of this ſpacious edifice, and divided into different lodgments, which are run up ſlightly with deal boards, and hung with ſerge, for the Cardinals and their attendants; and the rooms being ſmall, are called *Cells*. Theſe are fitted up within the nine days after

*Nov.* 10, 1549.

after the obſequies of the deceaſed Pope, and are drawn by lot; and the atchievements of each Cardinal placed over the door of that which falls to him. On the tenth day after the Pope's death, the ſacred college, having aſſiſted at a ſolemn maſs of the *Holy Ghoſt*, go in proceſſion to the conclave, where they remain ſhut up till they have choſen a ſucceſſor. The election is made in the following manner. Each Cardinal writes his name in a fold of paper, which he cloſes with a ſeal engraved for that purpoſe. On a ſecond fold is the name of him to whom he gives his vote, written by the aſſiſtant, which every one has with him; but is not ſealed: this again is incloſed in a third folding, on the back of which the Cardinal's motto or device is written, in the manner of a ſuperſcription to a letter. The Cardinals meet twice a week for the ſcrutiny, and two of them are deputed to open the outward folds of each billet, and read aloud the names of thoſe for whom the votes are given, and regiſter the number given to each. The third fold, which incloſes the elector's name, is not broke open till the election is over, and is then opened, that the Pope may know who voted in his favour. This ſcrutiny is performed till two thirds of the votes concur in the choice of the ſame perſon. SECT. VII.

If this method does not ſucceed, they have recourſe to another, in which they make a trial to bring two thirds of the votes to that Cardinal, who had the greateſt number in the former ſcrutinies: and if this ſecond method likewiſe be unſucceſsful, they have recourſe to a third, which is called *Acclamation*, and is performed by ſome of the leading Cardinals making an open declaration for a candidate, whom they are deſirous ſhould be choſen, and in whom they think the others will unite.

As

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15 years.

As the Pontificate of *Paul* III. had been long, there had been many vacancies in the ſacred college, and it was his peculiar praiſe, as I have ſhewn elſewhere, from the ſatyriſt *Aretine*, to fill them with perſons of diſtinguiſhed merit. Cardinal *Alexander Farneſe* had, at this time, the greateſt intereſt in that body, in which there were ſo many who had been honoured with the purple by the late Pope, of whoſe family that young Prince was; and being deſirous to have a perſon advanced to the papacy, whoſe probity and abilities might ſuit the preſent exigencies of the church, and on whoſe friendſhip he could rely, no one ſeemed ſo proper as the *Engliſh* CARDINAL. The propoſal was received with approbation by many, eſpecially of thoſe who were in the Emperor's intereſt, and who were well acquainted with the place he held in that Prince's eſteem. Thoſe, on the contrary, who were of the *French* party, endeavoured to give him the excluſion, from an apprehenſion of his being too much ſwayed by the influence of the houſe of *Auſtria*. They interpoſed, therefore, the *French* King's authority, and offered their votes to ſome other Cardinals whom they knew to aim at the papacy; yet ſtill the number of thoſe, who ſeconded *Farneſe*'s motion, was ſuperior.

*Hen.* II.

But I cannot give the reader ſo juſt a notion of this tranſaction, and of the CARDINAL's behaviour and ſentiments of the whole affair, as in his own words, after the election was over, in a letter to the Biſhop of *Badajox*, to whom he ſeems, both on this, and other occaſions, to have opened himſelf without reſerve. "The proſpect, ſays he, of the papacy, was offered me by the leading perſon in the conclave, whoſe authority, and the general eſteem he was held in, ſwayed the major part of the electors. He told me, his motive in this determination,

determination, was the opinion he had of me; and that all his intereſt, favour, and induſtry, ſhould be employed in my ſervice. It was natural, that on ſuch a propoſal, I ſhould feel the firſt motions of joy, which the ſenſe of honour is apt to betray, and which are ſo involuntary, that it is not eaſy to ſuppreſs them. And yet, God is my witneſs, I was no more affected, than if I had been one of thoſe animals, who don't covet honours, becauſe they have no perception of them. I remained therefore ſilent, and ſeemed deſirous to break off the conference, and to retire; which *Farneſe* perceiving, that he might give me a plauſible pretext of leaving him, told me, he did not inſiſt on an immediate anſwer, and only deſired I would take time to conſult myſelf *."



The conclave laſted two months, during all which time neither he, nor any who belonged to him, were known to take one ſtep which might advance his promotion; or that he was in the leaſt affected by all that agitation, which the circumſtances he was in, gave to others. He preſerved the uſual eaſe and chearfulneſs of his behaviour, and when any of the Cardinals told him, as many did, that they would make him Pope, his anſwer was, " that on ſuch occaſions no regard ſhould be paid to friendſhip, or private conſiderations; but that their care ſhould be to place a perſon in that high ſtation, who was equal to it, and for

* Hæc autem ſpes cùm mihi proponeretur ab ampliſſimo noſtri ordinis viro, et eo quidem, cujus authoritatem et gratiam maxima ſuffragiorum pars ſequebatur; cùmque idem, propter judicium quod ſe de me feciſſe dicebat, omne ſtudium, omnem operam, gratiam et authoritatem cumulatiſſimè deferret—prorſus tacui. Ille verò cùm me videret ſilere, et abituri ſpeciem præ me ferre, ut honeſtiùs, credo dimitteret, dixit: Se tunc à me reſponſum non expectare, rogare tantùm, ut ſpatium ad reſpondendum ſumerem, &c. Epiſt. *R. Poli*, t. 4. p. 57. Epiſt. ad Epiſc. *Pac.*

that

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that end offer up their ſupplications, and direct their intentions."—So perfectly was he maſter of himſelf, that he ſeemed rather at home, in the retirement of his own library, than on a theatre, where ſuch a prize was in competition, and he the moſt likely of any of the candidates to ſucceed. A proof of this is the excellent dialogue he wrote, at this time, *on the duties of the papacy* *, of which I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak elſewhere.

Amongſt others who obſerved ſo uncommon an equality of mind, and ſo perfectly free from all ambition, was the *Spaniſh* Cardinal of St. *James*, who, at one of the ſcrutinies, when only two votes had been wanting to raiſe CARDINAL POLE to the popedom, and the eyes of all who were preſent were fixt on him, related, that he had not remarked the leaſt emotion, at ſo critical a juncture, nor ſo much as a change in his countenance †. Another of the electors, who bore him an ill will, obſerved this tranquillity, but not with the philoſophic eye of the *Spaniard:* for being obliged to leave the conclave, on account of his health, and being aſked, which of the candidates ſtood faireſt for the papacy, and what he thought of the *Engliſh* CARDINAL? His anſwer was, that a more undeſerving perſon could not be pitched on: that he had let them all ſee, he was a mere log, having neither been affected with ſuch a proſpect, nor by the intrigues which were uſed to exclude him

* *Poli* vita, p. 19.

† Fuit præter cæteros *S. Jacobi* Cardinalis, Hiſpanus, qui POLI conſtantiam magnopere ſe admirari oſtenderet. Nam, cùm quodam die Cardinalium ſuffragia de pontifice eligendo recenſerentur, et ſcrutinium (ſic enim appellant) fieret, ac duo tantum POLO ad pontificatûs adeptionem ſuffragia defuiſſent, narrabat, ſe animadvertiſſe, eâ re POLUM nihil prorſus fuiſſe immutatum, ſed eundem ſemper, quem antè ſolitus erat, vultum retinuiſſe. *Poli* vita, fol. 19.

from

from it *.—From which behaviour, it is presumed, every wise and good man will draw a consequence just the reverse to this censure. SECT. VII.

The same steadiness appeared in a trial, on a like occasion, but of a more difficult nature, when one of the Cardinals reproached him with ambition, and being too much in haste to be chosen Pope; to which he made no other reply, than that he was too well acquainted with the duties and importance of that station, not to dread, rather than court it; and that he pitied those, who considered it in a different light †.

Though the greatness of his mind, which was not dazzled at such an elevation placed before him in full view, and the prospect of being raised to it, was admired by all who were witnesses of it: the little regard which he shewed at the sinister reports and slanders which some evil-minded and envious persons raised concerning him, was not less praiseworthy.—They gave out, that he favoured the modern errors; they upbraided him with too great lenity in the government of *Viterbo*, and with having a natural daughter, whom he had placed in a monastery at *Rome*.—His answer was, "that his character was in no danger from such imputations; and as soon as he was judicially accused, and knew who were his parties, he would then take care to state his case in such a manner, as would do no great credit to his adversaries. That, as to the accusation of heresy, all *Europe* was informed of what he had undertaken in defence of the Catholic faith; the dangers he had been exposed to, and his Prince's hatred which he had incurred on no other account, but because no persuasion and no reward could prevail on him to approve an opinion which was contrary to the received tenets of anti-

* *Poli* vita, fol. 20. † Ibid.

quity:

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quity: that his mother's blood, and that of his elder brother, and of ſeveral of his relations, which was ſhed by King *Henry*, becauſe they were ſtedfaſt to the ſame opinions, bore evidence of his attachment to them. As to the third ſlander, of a natural child, the inventors of it had done all that was neceſſary for its refutation; for having, in order to ſtrengthen the calumny, cauſed the mother to be ſought, whoſe daughter the CARDINAL had cauſed to be educated in a nunnery; it was diſcovered, to their confuſion, that the child was the orphan of an *Engliſh* woman, who died at *Rome*; and that he had taken care of her education, that ſhe might not be expoſed to evil courſes. It was likewiſe known, that beſides the ſmall effects which her mother left her, he had depoſited a conſiderable ſum in a bank, eſtabliſhed for ſuch purpoſes, which, at a proper age, might enable her to enter on a ſuitable marriage. Such acts of charity and humanity were cuſtomary to him, and he performed them in ſo ſecret a manner, that very few were informed from whom the benefaction came *.—I have had occaſion to relate elſewhere, what he ſaid in vindication of his government of *Viterbo*.

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To return to the conclave: It muſt be acknowledged, that the above-mentioned arts, which were made uſe of, either to gratify private ambition, or to exclude a choice, in which merit and favour equally concurred, were utterly unworthy perſons met on ſuch an occaſion. But the behaviour of the electors, who had engaged their votes to the *Engliſh* CARDINAL, was no leſs honourable to themſelves and him, than his own conduct. They were, as we have already ſeen,

* Vita *Poli*, fol. 19. et epiſt. *R. Poli* ad epiſc. *Pacenſem*, 29ª epiſt. t. 4ª.

the

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the greater number, and the moſt illuſtrious of the ſacred college, and "I may well ſtile them, ſays he (from the overflowings of a good and grateful mind) a choſen band, ſince their unanimity continued not days and weeks only, but whole months; during all which time, not one of them ſpoke either to me, or any of my houſhold, concerning their own private affairs; which could not have happened, had they been influenced in their choice by any other view than that of the public good. This conſent in my favour was amongſt perſons, with whom I had neither parentage, nor country, nor any thing in common, but the fellowſhip of the ſame college. I had perſonal connections with few; and the greater part were thoſe with whom I had a very ſlender acquaintance, and had no opportunity of deſerving well, or being uſeful to any one; all which conſiderations are of great weight in ſuch caſes. When I ſaw, therefore, their filial affection and attachment, I could not but call to mind the words of the prophet, though ſpoke on a very different occaſion, *who has procured me, who am a foreigner, and a baniſhed man, ſuch a numerous offspring* *?*

*Farneſius*

* Regredi verò non ſinebat ſacra illa Cohors—ſacram autem ſe fuiſſe ea re vel maximè probavit, quod cùm non dies, ſed totos menſes maneret hic conſenſus, nemo tamen ex tanto numero, qui certè maximam Collegii partem complectebatur, tam longo temporis ſpatio inventus eſt, qui aut mecum aut cum aliquo meorum de re ſuâ privatâ quicquam ageret; id quod à nemine fieri potuiſſe mihi perſuadebam, niſi ab illis, qui Reipublicæ et Eccleſiæ ſua ſuffragia, id eſt, ipſe DEO et CHRISTO Eccleſiæ Sponſo, animos et vota ſua hac in causâ penitus conſecraſſent. Cùm igitur perpetuam eorum conſtantiam tamdiu expertus viderem, ſumma erga me ſtudia, tanquam filiorum erga parentem, hoc unum contendentium, ut mihi ſupremus honor, et Patris erga ſe locus, deferatur.—Quibuſcum nihil fere, præter Collegii ſocietatem, commune habui, non patriam, non genus; quorum etiam plures privatim ex tenui amicitia, pauciſſimi uſu atque

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*Farneſius* finding that the number who had acceded to thoſe, who, from the beginning, declared themſelves for CARDINAL POLE, amounted now to two thirds, which are required for the election of a Pope, went to him, accompanied with another of the leading Electors, and informed him of the choice made in his favour, and deſired him to receive the homage which is paid on the like occaſions *. It was night when this happened: and he anſwered, "he could not approve of haſty and tumultuous proceedings, and requeſted the affair might be put off to the next day: and, if it was God's good pleaſure that he ſhould be elected, the choice they had thought fit to make of him would take place in the morning, no leſs than at that time:" and, leaving an example of moderation, ſays his Hiſtorian, which he had neither read nor heard of before, he refuſed to receive the homage †.

A ſhort time after, two others of the principal Members of the ſacred College came to him, on the part of their Conſtituents, with the ſame commiſſion, and having expoſed to him, that they aſked nothing but what was uſual, he then told

atque conſuetudine mihi erant conjuncti: nulla certè extabant mea in quemquam illorum merita et beneficia, quæ in hoc genere plurimum valere ſolent—quoties, me putas dixiſſe mecum illa Prophetæ verba, *quis mihi genuit iſtos*, &c. Ep. *R. Poli*, pars 4ta, pag. 60. Ep. ad Epiſcopum *Pac.*

* Tum verò id ipſe numquam magis ſenſi, quàm illâ nocte, cùm ad me duo ampliſſimi noſtri Ordinis viri rogatum venerunt verbis omnium, qui juſtum jam ſuffragiorum numerum explerent, ut me in illud Sacellum deduci paterer, quò Cardinales ad Pontificem deligendum convenire ſolent. Quò ſi veniſſem, ſuum de me judicium electione (quam adorationem vocant) ſe teſtaturos profitebantur, &c. Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4ta, p. 58. Epiſt. ad Epiſcopum *Pacenſem.*

† Atque ita adorari tum noluit. Quod ego antea feciſſe quemquam neque audivi, neque verò legi unquam. Vita *Poli*, fol. 20. à tergo.

them,

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them, he would do as they would have him. But they were no ſooner gone, than he repented of the aſſent he had given, and ſent one of his domeſtics to intreat thoſe Cardinals, whoſe authority was the greateſt, that the whole affair, if poſſible, might be put off till the next morning: and the perſon, when he returned, informed his Lord, that he had found them, of their own accord, come to that reſolution *.

On the following day, other views and diſpoſitions took place; the Cardinals who were in the Emperor's intereſt, cloſed with thoſe who favoured the *French*, and propoſed Cardinal *Morono*. He was but two and forty years old, yet had ſo high a reputation of integrity and prudence, that, in the enſuing ſcrutiny, he failed of being raiſed to the Papacy, only by two votes. His reſpect, however, for the *Engliſh* CARDINAL was ſuch, that he would not have a ſecond ſcrutiny for himſelf, but earneſtly deſired the Electors to return to their former reſolution. The *French* party had now gained the aſcendant, and CARDINAL POLE requeſted, they would honour ſome other perſon with their choice, and not permit the common cauſe to ſuffer by any further delays. On this, the Cardinals *Farneſe* and *de Guiſe*, who had the lead in the Conclave, united their intereſt, and agreed to chooſe Cardinal *Monti*, who, afterwards, took the name of *Julius* III. *Farneſe* communicated his intention to CARDINAL POLE, and aſked his concurrence, which, though the Candidate propoſed had not favoured his election, he gave with a ſatisfaction

* Cum verò paulò poſt duo alii ejuſdem Ordinis inſignes viri, et eâdem authoritate præditi, cum iiſdem mandatis ad me veniſſent, qui nihil à me præter conſuetudinem, nihil niſi legitimum et juſtum poſtulari demonſtrarent; tum quidem me in Eorum poteſtate futurum dixi, &c. Ep. *R. Poli*, pars 4ta, p. 58.

SECT. VII.

that ſufficiently atteſted his ſincerity. The night was now far advanced, when the Cardinals met in the Chapel, to pay their obedience to the new Pope: and CARDINAL POLE, preſenting himſelf with the reſt, as the cuſtom is, to kiſs his feet, the Pope roſe up, and embracing him, with tears told him, it was to his diſintereſtedneſs that he owed the Papacy: which he frequently repeated. And being, afterwards, at war with *France*, on account of the Duchy of *Mirandola*, and reduced to great ſtraits, he told Cardinal *Ranutius*, brother to *Alexander Farneſe*, that he was not conſcious of any miſdeed which could have drawn on him ſo heavy a chaſtiſement, unleſs it was not having concurred to CARDINAL POLE's election, of whoſe eminent merit he was ſo well aſſured *.

The Conclave was now broken up, and the CARDINAL, who did not conſider the concluſion of it as any diſappointment to himſelf, returned home with his uſual tranquillity. He ſaid to his Friends, that he ſhould, perhaps, have been an unfit inſtrument for the deſigns of Providence: that he rejoiced there was an end put to a ſtrife, which was both dangerous and diſhonourable; and a Chief Paſtor given to the Chriſtian world, in the choice of whom, any longer delay might have been attended with pernicious conſequences: and when ſome of the Cardinals, who, from ſelfiſh views, had oppoſed his election, ſignified their diſapprobation of the choice they had made, and repentance for their conduct in his regard, he was the firſt to comfort them. In fine, his whole behaviour, with reſpect to the election, gave a greatneſs to his private character, which no elevation could have equalled †.

I have related, that whilſt he was in the Conclave, he wrote a work *on the Duties of the Papacy*;

* Vita *Poli*, fol. 21. † Ibid.

and

and we learn from his letter to the perſon, to whom it is inſcribed, that the following incident gave occaſion to it. Among the Cardinals then aſſembled, *Julius Ruvere* was diſtinguiſhed by his youth, and a ſprightly and promiſing genius; and there being a particular intimacy between his Uncle, *Hercules Gonzaga*, and the *Engliſh* CARDINAL, he was deſirous to be uſeful to this young Nobleman, by directing his choice of a future Pontiff, and laying before him the obligations which that dignity impoſed on thoſe who were advanced to it. From a converſation held with him, in the firſt days of the Conclave, he perceived his ſentiments on that ſubject were very juſt, and much above his age. This gave him the thought of throwing together on paper, in form of a Dialogue, what they had lately diſcourſed on, and introducing himſelf and the young man as Speakers. The letter by which he addreſſes the performance to him is very fine *; and he, afterwards, enlarged the Work to a treatiſe in five Books. SECT. VII.

It was nine years ſince he had been appointed Governor of *the Province of the Patrimony*, and he continued in it three more, after the election of *Julius* III. The conſideration he was held in by this Pontiff, obliged him to make frequent journeys from *Viterbo*, where he reſided, to *Rome*, as he had done under the late Pope. Being now in the fifty-third year of his age, he was deſirous to paſs the evening of his life in a privacy, to which his inclinations had ever led him; and which he had hitherto foregone from a principle of duty, and in a view of being uſeful to mankind. He had, moreover, an additional inducement to retire from buſineſs, in the loſs of thoſe who were accuſtomed to ſhare the weight of it with him. The Cardi- 1541. 1553.

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4ta, pag. 47.

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nals *Contareni*, *Bembo*, *Sadolet*, *Corteſius*, and *Badia*, and *Giberti*, Biſhop of *Verona*, were dead: and two of his moſt valuable and endearing connections were ended by the death of *Flaminius*, and *Victoria Colonna*, Marchioneſs of *Peſcara*. *Rome*, likewiſe, where every thing had the face of war, on account of the diſagreement between *Julius* and *Henry* II. of *France*, was become a ſcene little ſuited to his temper. He obtained, therefore, the Pope's conſent to reſign his government, and retire to *Maguzano*, a monaſtery of Benedictine Monks, of which Order he was the Patron. This retreat is in the territory of *Verona*, and very agreeably ſituated near the Lake *Benacus*, which has been celebrated by *Virgil*, in the following lines:

*Adde lacus tantos*; *te*, Lari *maxime*, *teque*
*Fluctibus et fremitu aſſurgens*, Benace, *marino*.
GEORG. II.

Our ſpacious Lakes; thee, *Larius*, firſt; and next *Benacus*, with tempeſtuous billows vext.
DRYDEN.

SECT.

## SECT. VIII.

CARDINAL POLE, *on* Edward *VIth's Death, is appointed Legate to Queen* Mary. *The Purpoſe of this Commiſſion. Various Obſtacles and Delays obſtruct his Journey to* England; *which, at length, takes place.*

CARDINAL POLE had not been a year in his retirement at *Maguza*, when he was again called forth to action, and engaged *in that lucid path, which did not end till it brought him to the meridian* of the career, which Providence appointed him to accompliſh *. *Edward* VI. died on the ſixth of *July*, 1553, which was obſerved to be the ſame day of the ſame month on which his father had put Sir *Thomas More* to death. As ſoon as the news of this event reached *Rome*, one of the Secretaries, by the Pope's orders, wrote to the CARDINAL the following Letter. "Having heard, a few days ago, of the death of the King of *England*, his Holineſs has thought proper to uſe all convenient diligence to bring back that People to the ancient worſhip, from which they are lately fallen: and, in order to effect this, he is minded to make uſe of your Lordſhip's counſel; which was likewiſe the ſentiment of the whole Congregation of Cardinals. Whilſt the Patent was yeſterday making out, a courier arrived from *France*, with the news

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* Juſtorum ſemita quaſi lux ſplendens procedit et creſcit uſque ad perfectum diem. *Prov.* iv. 18. Edit. Vulg.

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of a revolution of affairs in that Kingdom, where the Princeſs *Mary* has been proclaimed Queen, with the univerſal conſent of the nation. The information gave his Holineſs the greateſt joy, and, having called the Sacred College, he let them know, that no method occurred to him more ſuited to the preſent exigency, or which had greater appearance of ſucceſs, than to appoint your Lordſhip Legate to the Queen, to the Emperor, to the King of *France*, and, in fine, to all places, thro' which you ſhould take your journey. The propoſal was univerſally approved, and each one teſtified his ſatisfaction at the event which gave occaſion to it. We are now employed in getting ready the Letters Patent, which will be in the moſt ample form, and your Lordſhip will judge whether any thing further ſhould be added Your Lordſhip's Credentials, alſo, for each of the above mentioned Powers, are preparing, and will be ſent, by an expreſs, to *Germany*, as we make no doubt of your taking that road, in order to confer with his Imperial Majeſty, before you proceed on your journey. His Holineſs, therefore, intreats you to take on yourſelf this commiſſion, for the ſervice of Almighty God, the welfare of your Country, his own ſatisfaction, and that of the Sacred College and the whole Court of *Rome*. It was, likewiſe, propoſed in the Council, if it would not be adviſeable to appoint the Biſhop of *Worceſter* Nuncio, that, in caſe your Lordſhip thought fit to ſend him before you, and employ him any other ways, he may do it with greater dignity *;

His

* This Prelate was *Richard Pates*, who was ſent to the Emperor's Court in 1540; but refuſing to return to *England*, on a diſlike of *Henry*'s proceedings, he was deprived of his Biſhopric in 1547; and, ſoon after, attainted of High Treaſon. He continued in baniſhment all *Edward*'s reign; during which he

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His Patents, therefore, ſhall be made out at the ſame time, and may be uſed or laid aſide, as your Lordſhip ſees fitting. You can ſtand in need, my Lord, of no directions or advice from us, as no one is ſo well informed of the meaſures it will be convenient to take, as yourſelf: the whole affair, therefore, is intruſted to your diſcretion, knowledge, charity and zeal; and you have every one's good wiſhes, that the undertaking may be crowned with ſucceſs *." SECT. VIII. *Rome*, 6th *Aug.* 1553

The Credentials here mentioned are to the following purport: The Pontiff informs him, "that the ſlender proſpect he had of concluding a peace between the Emperor and the moſt Chriſtian King, had cauſed him to recall his Legates from thoſe Courts: but, that he might not ſeem to give up all hopes of ſo deſirable an event, he had charged him with the ſame negotiation; as, in his way to *England*, he would have an interview with one, or both of theſe Monarchs. My motive for ſo doing, ſays the Pope, is not grounded on any diſpoſitions on their part to give ear to a ſalutary remonſtrance on this head; but, becauſe much depends on circumſtances of time and place, and no one is better qualified than yourſelf to take the advantage of ſuch opportunities. Your prudence and ſagacity, and that art of perſuaſion which recommends all you ſay, may prevail, though the means hitherto tried have been ineffectual. I ſhall, therefore, preſcribe nothing to you, in particular, but leave the whole

ſat in the Council of *Trent*: and on Queen *Mary*'s acceſſion, was recalled home, and reſtored to his See, in 1554. In the 1ſt of *Eliz.* for refuſing to take the oath of Supremacy, he was, a ſecond time, deprived of his Biſhopric; and, going abroad, aſſiſted at the cloſe of the Council of *Trent*; and was alive in 1563. *Godw.* de Præſ. Angl. *Fox*, at the year 1559. *Laur. Hump.* in Vitâ *Juelli*, pag. 179. Ath. *Oxon.* 694.

* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 4ta, pag. 109.

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affair to be managed as you judge moſt conducive to the dignity of the holy See, and the emolument of the Chriſtian Commonwealth. You are already informed of my intentions, and of the ſincere deſire I have to ſee peace and tranquillity reſtored; and this long ſought remedy applied to the diſtempered ſtate of public affairs. Whatever meaſures, therefore, you think fit to purſue, I ſhall look on them as worthy your abilities, and deſerving my approbation *."

22d *Sept.* 1553.

As the management of the whole buſineſs was left to the CARDINAL, he was of opinion, he ought to be informed of the Queen's diſpoſition, and the ſtate of the Nation, before he ſet out on ſo hazardous an undertaking: he wrote, therefore, the following letter to her.

He begins, "by ſetting forth the great and unexpected turn in the Queen's fortune, which could be aſcribed to nothing but a declaration of Heaven in her favour. A powerful faction had ſet up a rival; thoſe at the head of it had leiſure and opportunity to ſtrengthen themſelves; ſhe herſelf had, for ſeveral years, been reduced almoſt to the condition of a private perſon. All theſe were incidents which ſeemed to forebode her overthrow. Yet, when the affair came to be decided, a few of her faithful ſubjects, who had dared to declare in her right, had overbalanced all theſe unfavourable circumſtances; and, in an inſtant, brought the threats, the deſigns, the inſolence, the attempts of her enemies, to nothing. This, ſays he, can be attributed only to Him who diſpoſes of Kingdoms to whom he thinks proper, and changes the heart of man according to his good pleaſure; whoſe counſels are not to be controled by human ſtrength or prudence. He obſerves,

* Epiſt. *R. Poli* pars 4ta, pag. 431.

that

that this Event was too memorable a proof of a divine Providence, not to awaken in the *Engliſh* a belief of it; which, though it was the baſe of all Religion; yet, on account of the long ſway which the wicked had exerciſed, was ſo little regarded, eſpecially by thoſe who were reputed more wiſe and prudent than the reſt, that it ſeemed almoſt entirely forgotten. Wherefore, if any woman might preſume to praiſe Almighty God in the words of the bleſſed mother of his Son, it was herſelf. She might truly ſay, *He had regarded the lowlineſs of his Handmaid—His arm had done mighty things—He had put down the mighty from their ſeats, and exalted the lowly.* Luke, chap. i. SECT. VIII.

" He then goes on by telling her, that a deep ſenſe of religion, and zeal for her Majeſty's perſon, obliged him to deſire her to call to mind, at the beginning of her reign, by what ſteps ſuch a confuſion of human and divine right, as was but too viſible in all private and public concerns, had been introduced: that ſhe would perceive the firſt cauſe of it to have been the ill-fated and unlawful divorce of the King her Father from the beſt of women, her Mother; which crime had been followed by his ſeparation from the common parent of all Chriſtians, the Catholic Church: that, from this poiſonous root all thoſe misfortunes had ſprung, which had corrupted the body of the People, and left few remains either of integrity or religion; both which had been baniſhed when the obedience due to the authority eſtabliſhed by JESUS CHRIST was laid aſide; nor would be reſtored, but with it. She might credit him, he ſays, who had ſuffered ſo much both in that, and her Majeſty's cauſe; and who had left nothing untried to ſerve her; that, if his endeavours had hitherto proved unſucceſsful, the very diſappointment now afforded him a ſingular ſatisfaction, as he viſibly

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ſaw the hand of Providence declare itſelf in her favour. He obſerves, that God had not permitted her to be aſſiſted by any earthly Potentate, but had deferred her deliverance to that time, in which he had decreed to raiſe her by his own almighty arm; and, in the mean while, had dealt with her as he is uſed to do with his choſen ſervants, whom he leads to the proſperity for which he deſigns them, by adverſe fortune, and the trials of patient hope. He ſays, the eyes of all good men were intent on this great event; and himſelf, in particular, having had more frequent opportunity of being acquainted with thoſe excellent endowments, which had diſtinguiſhed her from her infancy; that this knowledge made him more deſirous to be informed of her preſent diſpoſitions with reſpect to religion, and thoſe means which were neceſſary to reſtore it: and, therefore, though he was appointed Legate of the Holy See to her Majeſty, the Emperor, and the King of *France*; yet the Commiſſion was of ſo delicate and important a nature, that he would not enter on it, till he knew her intentions, which he deſires may be communicated to him by the perſon who was to deliver his letter. He adds, that this caution did not proceed from any diſtruſt in her goodneſs, whom he had ever known moſt grateful to God for his mercies, and moſt obſervant of his laws, at the head of which was the acknowledgment of the Church's authority. This authority, he obſerves, ought to have a perſonal weight with her, whoſe Father had diſowned it on no other account, but becauſe it had been exerted in her cauſe, and againſt his lawleſs deſires. But as ſuch a licentiouſneſs had prevailed ſince this rupture, as muſt make a return to the ancient obſervance very difficult, he would have her Majeſty's advice as to the manner and time in which he might appear in the charac-

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ter of Legate, ſo as to anſwer, with greater advantage, the purpoſes for which he had been inveſted with it. He ends, with beſeeching Almighty God, that her orders on this head may be ſuited to the expectation which all well-diſpoſed perſons entertained of her: and doubts not to make it appear, if ſhe is pleaſed to grant him a favourable audience, that the foundation and ſecurity of every good, which could be derived on her people, was to be built on the foundations which her ſubjects had forſaken *."

He ſent this Letter, which was written in *Latin*, by a ſpecial Meſſenger, who had orders to call on Cardinal *Dandalo*, the Papal Ambaſſador at the Emperor's Court, which was then kept at *Bruſſels*; and who, being in the neighbourhood of *England*, might ſend him more certain intelligence than he could have at ſo great a diſtance. *Dandalo* on this diſpatched his Secretary into *England*, who having had frequent conferences with the Queen, and informed himſelf of the preſent temper of the People, went back towards the end of *Auguſt*, and, by an almoſt incredible expedition, performed the journey from *Bruſſels* to *Rome* within nine days. He called on CARDINAL POLE, who was ſtill in the Monaſtery near *Benacus*; and the meſſenger he had ſent to the Queen, delivered him her Majeſty's anſwer to his letter, which was to the following purpoſe.

è *Cœnobio Megazeni Benaci, Ibid. Sex.* 1553.

" She begins by thanking him for the part he took in her being placed on the throne of her anceſtors; and the ſingular providence of Almighty God in defeating the oppoſition which had been made to the juſtice of her title: and that ſhe was no leſs obliged to him for the good will he ſigni-

* *Odoricus Raynaldus*, tom. xxi. Annal. Eccleſ. Edit. *R. Pol.* pars 4ta, p. 116. et 428.

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fied for her Kingdom, which was, likewiſe, his own Country, and for the wholſom advice he had added to the above-mentioned articles. Tho' ſhe had not been united to him by the ties of conſanguinity, yet ſuch an unfeigned declaration of friendſhip would have the beſt claim to all the return ſhe could make. That ſhe would endeavour to profit from his inſtructions, as much as her circumſtances would allow, having ever been in thoſe diſpoſitions in which he wiſhed her to perſevere. As to what regarded the ſubmiſſion and reſpect due to the Catholic Church, the bearer would fully inform him of her mind, and the anxiety ſhe laboured under not to be able to declare herſelf without any reſerve on this head; but as ſoon as ſuch a meaſure was adviſeable, ſhe would inform him, her very good kinſman, of it. The ſame meſſenger was to give him an account of her Coronation, and of ſeveral other tranſactions, at which ſhe would have him be preſent: and of the hopes ſhe entertained that the preſent meeting of the Parliament would repeal thoſe Statutes which had occaſioned the late evils. She had a confidence, alſo, of obtaining pardon from the Pope of whatever had been blameable in her own behaviour; and had a grateful remembrance of the many inſtances of good will ſhe had received from him; and intreated the LEGATE to be the Mediator of a perfect reconciliation. She concludes, by acknowledging the pledges of a brother's love he had ſo often given her; and by recommending herſelf again to the Pontiff and himſelf *."

*Weſtminſter, 6th Oct.* 1553.

The chief Articles which the Meſſenger was to communicate to the LEGATE, and which were to be ſecret to all but the Pope and himſelf, were, that the Queen, with the conſent of her Parlia-

* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 4ta, p. 429.

ment,

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ment, would aboliſh the Laws which her Father and Brother had paſſed againſt the ancient Worſhip; and ſend an Embaſſy of reverence and obedience to the holy See. In the mean time, ſhe requeſted the Pope to pardon the *Engliſh*, in a public manner, that none might ſuffer for having come into the meaſures of the late Kings, and left the Communion of the See of *Rome*: that REGINALD POLE might be ſent Legate into *England*, with full power to tranſact all this; and reinſtate the former faith and diſcipline. Beſides theſe orders from the Queen, the Secretary had informed the CARDINAL, from *Dandalo*, that it was adviſeable to defer, for ſome time, his journey to *England*.

The ſame meſſenger being arrived at *Rome*, delivered to the Pope a Letter from the Queen, in which ſhe profeſſed on her own part, and that of the Nation, the obedience and reſpect which all Princes, in communion with the Biſhop of *Rome*, have ever acknowledged to be due to his See, without any diminution of their own prerogative, or prejudice to the rights of their People *. The young Gentleman, *John Commendon*, who brought this news, was afterwards raiſed to the Purple, and eſteemed one of the moſt able Negotiators of his age; and having paſſed through all thoſe honours, by which the Courts, which employed him, could teſtify their ſenſe of his merit, he at length ſurvived his underſtanding, and died in obſcurity. His reputation, however, has been tranſmitted to the lateſt poſterity by *Gratiani*, Biſhop of *Amelia*, who had been his Secretary, and has rendered his Patron that tribute of gratitude, which *Becatelli* paid to the memory of CARDINAL POLE, by writing his life in a greater detail, and with equal ſenſe and elegance.

* *Gratiani* in Vitâ *Commendoni*, pag. 33, et ſeq.

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* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 4ta, p. 429.

ment, would aboliſh the Laws which her Father and Brother had paſſed againſt the ancient Worſhip; and ſend an Embaſſy of reverence and obedience to the holy See. In the mean time, ſhe requeſted the Pope to pardon the *Engliſh*, in a public manner, that none might ſuffer for having come into the meaſures of the late Kings, and left the Communion of the See of *Rome*: that REGINALD POLE might be ſent Legate into *England*, with full power to tranſact all this; and reinſtate the former faith and diſcipline. Beſides theſe orders from the Queen, the Secretary had informed the CARDINAL, from *Dandalo*, that it was adviſeable to defer, for ſome time, his journey to *England*. SECT. VIII.

The ſame meſſenger being arrived at *Rome*, delivered to the Pope a Letter from the Queen, in which ſhe profeſſed on her own part, and that of the Nation, the obedience and reſpect which all Princes, in communion with the Biſhop of *Rome*, have ever acknowledged to be due to his See, without any diminution of their own prerogative, or prejudice to the rights of their People *. The young Gentleman, *John Commendon*, who brought this news, was afterwards raiſed to the Purple, and eſteemed one of the moſt able Negotiators of his age; and having paſſed through all thoſe honours, by which the Courts, which employed him, could teſtify their ſenſe of his merit, he at length ſurvived his underſtanding, and died in obſcurity. His reputation, however, has been tranſmitted to the lateſt poſterity by *Gratiani*, Biſhop of *Amelia*, who had been his Secretary, and has rendered his Patron that tribute of gratitude, which *Becatelli* paid to the memory of CARDINAL POLE, by writing his life in a greater detail, and with equal ſenſe and elegance.

* *Gratiani* in Vitâ *Commendoni*, pag. 33, et ſeq.

This

SECT. VIII.

This intelligence cauſed the Pope to write to the CARDINAL, "that though much caution was requiſite in the preſent affair, yet he would have him ſet out on his journey; but perform it in ſuch a manner, as neither to prejudice the Queen's ſafety, nor the common cauſe. That this was his opinion, and that of the ſacred College; yet it was left to his own piety and prudence, to his knowledge and experience; and to the advices, which he would receive with greater certainty and expedition than they could, to reſolve on what was beſt, and take his meaſures accordingly *."

20th *Sept.* 1553.

Soon after this Letter the Legate ſet out with a deſign of taking the road of *Germany*, and conferring with the Emperor at *Bruſſels*, before he proceeded any further. In the mean time every thing in *England* ſeemed to favour the Religious Revolution, which was ſoon after effected.

The *French* Ambaſſador at the Court of *England*, the Lord of *Noailles*, had already been informed of all the ſteps which were taken at *Rome*; and had acquainted his King, "that CARDINAL POLE was appointed Legate of the holy See to the Queen and the *Engliſh* Nation; that his Patents were already made out, and ſent to *Verona* by the Biſhop of *Burgos*, who formerly had been *Catharine* of *Aragon*'s ghoſtly Father: that he was to take his road through *Germany*, and come directly to the Emperor at *Bruſſels*; where, as he underſtood, he was to ſtay ſome days, and conſider on what would be the moſt likely means to make his preſence moſt agreeable to the People of *England*. I thought proper, ſays the Ambaſſador, to give your Majeſty this information, becauſe I did not know but you would give orders to your Reſidents in *Germany* and *Switzerland* to receive the LEGATE, in

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4ta, pag. 111.

his

his paſſage, with diſtinction, as he comes on ſo good and laudable a commiſſion, before he reaches the Emperor: for your Majeſty may be well aſſured, that if once he comes hither, he will have the firſt place in the Queen's confidence, to the no ſmall diſpleaſure of the Chancellor, and of ſeveral of the Nobility, who, on account of their religious principles, will ſee with regret a Churchman at the head of the Miniſtry *." He wrote to the King, ſome time after, that the CARDINAL's preſence was very neceſſary for the Queen's affairs, and the mutual advantage which both nations might derive from it. I aſſure your Majeſty, ſays this Nobleman, that beſides the real need there is of his advice, he is, likewiſe, more univerſally wiſhed for than I could have imagined, both by Proteſtants and Catholics †." SECT. VIII. 4th *Sept.* 1553. 24th *Nov.*

But before I enter on Queen *Mary*'s reign, which was the laſt and great theatre on which he appeared, who is the ſubject of this Hiſtory, it may not be improper to give ſome account of the character under which this Princeſs had hitherto been conſidered, and which may contribute to make what is hereafter to be ſaid of her more ſatisfactory. The education ſhe received from her Mother formed her to that ſteadineſs and zeal for the Religion of her Anceſtors, which ſeems to have been the ruling principle of her whole conduct. This reverence, which we owe to the veracity and ſanctity of the Supreme Being, either when he reveals his truths to our belief, or preſcribes his laws to our practice, cauſed her to make that memorable reply, when *Charles* V. cautioned her to proceed ſlowly, and not declare herſelf whilſt the iſſue of affairs was yet uncertain; " That her truſt in

* Ambaſſades de *Noailles*, tom. 2. pag. 135. † Ibid. pag. 271.

God

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God alone had firſt ſupported her in the greateſt ſtraits of adverſe fortune; and then raiſed her to a Crown: wherefore ſhe was reſolved to uſe no delay in teſtifying her gratitude to Him, to whom ſhe owed her ſafety and dignity; but to do it immediately, and in the moſt conſpicuous manner*." It being, in that age, faſhionable to give young Ladies of high birth a tincture of literature, *Lewis Vives*, the *Quintilian* of thoſe times, inſtructed her in the *Latin* language, under whom ſhe made ſo conſiderable a progreſs, as to write tolerably well in that tongue. The inaccuracies of a Letter of hers to CARDINAL POLE, which is preſerved in the *Bodleian* Library, are a ſtrong preſumption, beſides the ſubject, that the whole, as it now ſtands, is the compoſition of the Princeſs ‡. Her Father, on divorcing the Queen, had obliged her to ſubſcribe to her own illegitimacy; but being afterwards reconciled to her, and the Parliament having ſettled the order of ſucceſſion as he thought fit, ſhe was ſubſtituted to her Brother *Edward*, and her title to the Crown became as legal and parliamentary, as it had always been juſt and natural. He, moreover, allotted her 10,000 *l.* as a dower, and ſettled on her 3000 *l.* a year: a large maintenance in thoſe days, and equal to five times as much in ours. She ſuffered much during her Brother's reign, from the importunities made uſe

* — Ut monenti *Carolo Cæſari* conſilium ne approperaret, neve tam immaturis rebus ſeſe indicaret, reſponſum ſanè memorabile reddiderit: Se, dum deſerta deſtitutaque in ſuâ calamitate jaceret, non alterius ſpe atque ope, quàm Dei ſuſtentatam; ad regnum inde provectam fuiſſe: Itaque ſtatutum ſibi, cui ſalutem et dignitatem deberet, ei non cunctanter aut obſcurè, ſed ſtatim ac propalam gratiam profiteri. *Gratiani* in vita *Commendoni*, pag. 36.

‡ It is paſted on the blank leaves of King *James* the firſt's Works, publiſhed by Biſhop *Montagu*, and preſented to the Univerſity by that Monarch.

of

of to compel her to renounce the Catholic Religion, and the indignities offered to her chaplains, to all who belonged to her, and to her own perſon: and the anſwers ſhe returned to the young King's letters, her expoſtulations with him and the Lords of the Council, by whoſe orders ſhe was diſquieted, are made with a dignity becoming the uprightneſs and integrity of her own proceedings; the near relation ſhe bore to the Crown; and her knowledge of their evil purpoſes, to whom the King, her brother, was intirely given up; and ſhew a reſolution which was not to be ſhaken, and which ſhe exerted, to the full, on *Edward*'s death, and in the following manner *. SECT. VIII.

*Dudley*, who was created Duke of *Northumberland*, had cauſed the late King, when he was leaving the world, and his mind reduced as low as his body, to exclude the Princeſſes *Mary* and *Elizabeth* from the ſucceſſion, and ſubſtitute in their place the Lady *Jane Gray*, whom he had married to *Robert* Lord *Guildford Dudley*, his fourth Son. She was the Daughter of *Frances*, Ducheſs of *Suffolk*, and deſcended by *Charles Brandon* from *Mary* Dowager Queen of *France*, and ſiſter to *Henry* VIII. After *Edward*'s ſiſters, therefore, the Ducheſs ſtood next in relation to the Crown, as the *Scotiſh* line, by *Henry*'s diſpoſition, was ſuppoſed to be ſet aſide: But the mother had relinquiſhed all claim to royalty, that ſhe might ſee it ſettled on her offspring; and *Northumberland*, in order to ſtrengthen his intereſt with the Nobility, had, at the ſame time, intermarried his ſons and daughters into the principal families.—The whole Privy Council (Lord Chief Juſtice *Hales* excepted)

* *John Fox*, vol. 2. page 1337, &c. where the original documents concerning the Princeſs *Mary* are put down at length.

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and *Cranmer* the Primate at the head, had ſubſcribed to theſe unwarrantable meaſures. The Lady *Jane* alone, who had every claim to royalty, which beauty, knowledge, and moderation can confer, and who was the moſt intereſted in this new ſettlement, was the only perſon who oppoſed it, and did all that depended on her, to refuſe a Crown, which ſhe was obliged to lay down within a few days after ſhe had, with ſo much reluctance, accepted of it. Her father-in-law, on *Edward*'s death, had cauſed her to be proclaimed Queen, and it having been formerly a cuſtom for our Sovereigns to ſpend the firſt days of their acceſſion in the Tower, he conveyed her thither; and the Privy Council being obliged to attend, were, by that means, his priſoners. The univerſal hatred which his violence and ambition had raiſed, made the proclamation of the new Queen be heard with ſullenneſs and diſſatisfaction; and when *Ridley*, Biſhop of *London*, employed his rhetoric againſt the Princeſs *Mary*, at St. *Paul*'s Croſs, he had been heard with as little favour, as the Heralds who proclaimed her rival.

The Princeſs had not been wanting to herſelf in theſe ſtraits, who, by the intelligence ſhe received from the Earl of *Arundel*, had narrowly eſcaped the ſnare laid by *Northumberland* to get her and her Siſter in his power, by concealing the King's death, and counterfeiting his orders to them both, to repair to him, as he ſtood in need of their comfort and advice. Being apprized of this conſpiracy, when ſhe was within half a day's journey of *Greenwich*, where *Edward* died, ſhe retired firſt into *Norfolk*, and then to *Suffolk*, and ſummoned the Nobility and Gentry to ſupport her claim, and offered a general pardon to all who had been wanting to the allegiance due to her. Beſides theſe circular Letters, ſhe notified to the Lords of

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the Council, "the ſettlement of the Crown, by Act of Parliament and her Father's will; which diſpoſition, ſhe ſays, was corroborated by other circumſtances, of which they, the Realm, and all *Europe* were informed: that the public Records made it appear with ſuch evidence, that no true and faithful ſubject could be ignorant of it; and that ſhe had cauſed it to be publiſhed and proclaimed accordingly. She lets them know, that though ſhe was, by no means, ignorant of their deſigns and contrivances againſt her lawful claim, ſhe was, however, willing to put the moſt favourable conſtruction on their meetings and proceedings; and to avoid coming to force and bloodſhed: and required them to cauſe her title to be proclaimed in *London* and elſewhere, as was cuſtomary." The Lords, on receiving theſe orders, returned an anſwer ſuited to the meaſure they had already taken; and let the Princeſs know, "the whole right to the crown of *England* to be inveſted in the Lady *Jane*, *by the good order of the ancient Laws of the Realm*, and by the diſpoſition of the late King: and they require the Princeſs to reduce herſelf to a private condition, in which caſe they offer her their good offices: otherwiſe, ſay they, ſhe will be grievous to them, to herſelf, and the whole ſtate;" and they are not afraid to allege, as the motive of their proceedings, "*the hainous and unſpeakable enormities* they ſhould incur, were they not to behave in this manner *."

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*Kenning-Hall, July 9th, 1553.*

This declaration neither intimidated the Princeſs, nor checked the zeal of the abettors of her cauſe. The Earls of *Bath* and *Suſſex*, the heirs apparent of the Lords *Wharton* and *Mordaunt*, Sir *William Drury*, Sir *Henry Beddingfield*, and Sir

* *Fox*, Acts and Monuments.

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*Henry Jernegan*, appeared the firſt in ſupport of it; and, having great influence in their reſpective Counties, brought in their retainers and dependents. Sir *Edward Haſtings*, brother to the Earl of *Huntingdon*, and nephew to CARDINAL POLE, though he had a commiſſion from the Council to raiſe levies for the Lady *Jane*, joined the Princeſs *Mary*, at the head of 4000 men; and the fleet, which lay off the coaſt of *Suffolk*, declared for her. This oppoſition made the Duke of *Northumberland* think it neceſſary to take the field, and aſſert by arms a claim which was alike deſtitute of juſtice and popularity. His troops did not exceed 6000 men; and when he came to St. *Edmondſbury*, he found himſelf too weak to riſk a battle with the Princeſs's army, which was twice that number. He wrote, therefore, to the Council to ſend him a reinforcement; but the Lords were ſo far from obeying the orders, that they made uſe of this commiſſion to free themſelves from their confinement; and being now out of his reach, and his power on the decline, they only aſſembled to deliberate in what manner to rid themſelves of his tyranny. The Earl of *Arundel* opened the conference, by laying before them the violence, ambition, and cruelty of the Duke, and the guilt wherein he had involved the Council, which, he ſaid, could not be expiated but by acknowledging and aiding their rightful Sovereign. The motion was ſeconded by the Earl of *Pembroke*; and the Mayor and Aldermen being ſent for, they received the orders to proclaim the Princeſs with great alacrity; and the ſame ſentiments became univerſal. Even the Duke of *Suffolk*, Father to the unhappy victim of *Northumberland*'s ambition, finding reſiſtance to no purpoſe, opened the Tower gates; from whence his Daughter returned to a private ſtate, with more ſatisfaction than ſhe had aſſumed

assumed royalty. The Princess *Elizabeth* met her Sister at the head of 1000 horse she had raised to maintain their joint title; and the people thronged to meet the Princess as she drew near to *London*, and every where gave demonstrations of joy for her success. Orders being given to take the Duke of *Northumberland* into custody, he fell on his knees to the Earl of *Arundel*, who arrested him, and his whole behaviour was as abject as, till then, it had been haughty and contemptuous. His guilt was of too deep a die to be effaced by any submissions; and his character made it unsafe for any government to pardon such an offender. SECT. VIII.

Being come to the place of execution, he made a very remarkable declaration of the sentiments in which he left the world; which has been transmitted to us, at length, in his own words, and is to the following purpose. "He begins by acknowledging his guilt against Almighty God, his Sovereign, and the whole Realm; and that he had been in open rebellion against the Queen, for which, though of her own authority she might have sentenced him to death, yet she had been pleased to have him tried and condemned by law. That he trusted this had happened for the salvation of his soul, and to awaken in him a deeper sense of his offences. That, being allowed an entire freedom of speech, he called God, and all who were present, to witness he suffered for a cause, in which he had been engaged by other persons, whom he asked God to pardon. He took this opportunity of declaring to them, that, some time before the death of King *Henry*, and ever since, he had been led astray by the reforming Preachers, which had been the principal cause of his misfortunes. He therefore cautioned them to beware of these profligate and seditious persons, *who had opened the book of error, but knew not how* *Aug.* 22d, 1553.

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*to ſhut it.* That ever ſince theſe new doctrines had been ſet on foot, God had given them up to themſelves, and inflicted on them the ſevereſt of his puniſhments, war, ſedition, riots, rebellion, plague, and famine. He, therefore, exhorts them to obedience to the Queen; and to return to the true Catholic faith, from which they had, for ſo long a time, fallen. They had examples of the like errors and the like ruin in *Germany*, which were well known to every one. That, to go no further, the Creed taught us to believe in the Holy Ghoſt, the holy Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints; and this was his very faith, as the Lord Biſhop of *Worceſter* could certify; and all he had ſaid was not from any command he had received to ſpeak in this manner, but his own free choice*."

Dr. *Heath.*

Two other perſons were put to death with him, and eight more tried and condemned of high treaſon; whoſe attainder the Parliament, which was called ſoon after, approved and confirmed by their authority†." Amongſt theſe were Lady *Jane*, and Lord *Guildford Dudley*; whoſe execution was put off, and, probably, never would have enſued, had not a ſubſequent rebellion made it ſeem neceſſary to the Queen's ſafety and the tranquillity of the State. This was all the blood that was ſpilt in puniſhment of a rebellion of the deepeſt guilt, and in which ſo many of the Nobility and others were engaged. A general pardon, with few exceptions, followed theſe acts of juſtice: the Queen remitted the ſubſidy which had been granted to her Brother; and no Sovereign ſeems to have aſcended the throne of their anceſtors with more univerſal ſatisfaction of all orders of the Na-

* *Titus*, b. 2. *Collier*'s Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, vol. 2. b. 5.
† Anno I. *Mariæ*, Seſſ. 2. c. 16.

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tion. One of the firſt Acts of the prerogative was to erect anew the Biſhopric of *Durham*, which had been diſſolved in the late reign, and annex to it the ancient Regalities. She reinſtated *Tonſtal* in this See; and having appointed Commiſſioners to reviſe the cauſes of *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, *Day*, *Heath*, and *Veſey*, who were deprived in the laſt reigns for refuſing to aſſent to changes then introduced, ſhe reſtored them to the Biſhoprics of *Wincheſter*, *London*, *Chicheſter*, *Worceſter*, and *Exeter*. The Duke of *Norfolk*, who had been a priſoner all *Edward*'s time; and *Courtney*, ſon to the Marquis of *Exeter*, were ſet at liberty. During theſe tranſactions the Queen had been crowned; and the circumſtances which attended this ceremony were a preſage of the change which immediately enſued. She was met at the Abbey Church, to which ſhe came with great magnificence, by three ſilver Croſſes, and eighty ſinging men in rich Copes; ſo ſudden a recruit had been made of theſe ſacred Veſtments. The new Dean, and ſeveral of her own Chaplains walked in this proceſſion, which was cloſed by ten Biſhops, who remained of the Catholic Communion, in their coſtly Mitres and Copes, and ſilver Croſier-Staves. A few days after the Coronation, a Parliament was ſummoned; at the opening of which the title of Supreme head on earth of the Church of *England* was given to the Queen. A high Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt was performed on this occaſion, at which both Houſes aſſiſted; and, as an indication of the Queen's gracious purpoſes towards her people, the Seſſion began by limiting all treaſons to the ſtatute of the 25th of *Edward* III. and reducing felonies to ſuch offences only as were deemed ſo before *Henry* the VIIIth's reign *. The extenſions of miſdemean-

* Anno I. *Mariæ*, Seſſ. 1. c. 1.

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ours, to which this guilt was annexed, having given ſcope to the cruelty and avarice of that Prince, nothing could be more popular, or ſpeak a mind more deſirous to favour the ſubject, than to reſtrain them within their ancient channels. The Houſes likewiſe declare, at the opening of the ſe-
24th Oct. cond Seſſion, the validity of the marriage between King *Henry* and *Catharine* of *Aragon*, and repeal whatever had been enacted on a contrary ſuppoſition; they expreſs their higheſt diſapprobation of *Cranmer*'s behaviour in that proceeding, of which, indeed, they give many ſhameful inſtances *. In the next place, all ſtatutes made in the laſt reign, againſt the doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, are repealed; and the divine worſhip, in all its branches, of which the ſtatute enters on a large detail, is called back to the form it had at the death of *Henry* VIII. †

The proſpect of every thing which concerned the re-eſtabliſhment of the ancient worſhip was too promiſing not to be communicated to the CARDINAL, who had it no leſs at heart than the Queen. Accordingly ſhe diſpatched to him *Thomas Goldwell*, who was afterwards Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, with an account of theſe particulars; but which did not diſguiſe the doubts and perplexities ſhe laboured under, and tempered the joy which ſo unexpected a turn in affairs would otherwiſe have produced. I have not ſeen this Letter; but the contents of it may be collected from a ſecond, and a third, which ſhe ſent ſoon after; and by the anſwers which the CARDINAL returned to them all. She begins the ſecond by referring him to what ſhe had written by *Goldwell*. "My Lord, ſays ſhe, you underſtand, by my laſt Letter, in what ſituation my concerns were, when I wrote to

* Anno I. *Mariæ*, Seſſ. 2. c. 1. † Ibid. Seſſ. 2. c. 2.

you,

you, and for what reaſons I deſired you to delay, for a while, your journey to *London*. The purpoſe of your embaſſy is ſo ſuſpected by my ſubjects, and ſo odious to them, that an immediate arrival in theſe parts, though I wiſh it extremely, would be rather prejudicial, than any ways avail me. The proceedings of the Parliament put this beyond a doubt: and ſo ſtrangely are the minds of the people prepoſſeſſed againſt the *Roman* Pontiff, that they find leſs difficulty in admitting all the other tenets of the Catholic Religion, than in the ſingle article which regards the ſubordination due to him. The upper Houſe was of opinion, that all the ſtatutes which had paſſed ſince my Father's divorce from the Queen, and a little before that time, ſhould be repealed; as, by this means, every thing would be cancelled which had been voted either againſt religion, or the validity of my Mother's marriage. But when the queſtion came to be debated by the Commons, they preſently ſuſpected it to be propoſed in favour of the Biſhop of *Rome*, that the title of Supreme head of the Church, which is annexed to the crown of *Great Britain*, might be given up, the Papal power revived, and a facility procured of receiving you in quality of Legate. Were theſe apprehenſions to ceaſe, I underſtand there would be no difficulty either in repealing the ſtatutes made againſt the ancient worſhip, or in ratifying my Mother's marriage. My fears are, that they will obſtinately inſiſt on my continuing to aſſume the Headſhip of the Church; and, if they do, I am not at a loſs in what manner to reply. I will remind them of my conſtant attachment to the faith I profeſs, in which I have been educated, and will perſevere to the laſt—that I can conſent to nothing which my conſcience condemns—that the title in debate does not agree with Kings; as the Royal ſtate, in ſpiritual concerns,

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is ſubordinate to the Sacerdotal: and the juriſdiction of the body politic being of a different order from that of the prieſthood, their power, dignity, and functions were diſtinct—that there was a peculiar difficulty ariſing from my very ſex, to which nothing could be leſs ſuited than ſuch a title, and the extent of power annexed to it. If I can obtain nothing more, I will intreat them to ſuſpend for a time, at leaſt, whatever regards a claim, to which I can never conſent, till ſome other expedient be found out. If my Parliament neglects the equity of this demand, I am at a loſs how to behave, and what meaſures to take. You, my Lord, are the only perſon on whoſe prudence I rely, and whoſe advice I aſk, that I may act nothing contrary to duty, and extricate myſelf from this labyrinth *."

28th Oct. 1553.

This Letter is written in *Latin*, as likewiſe the following, which was ſent when ſhe had heard from the CARDINAL, and after the Parliament had declared her Mother's marriage valid, and repealed every thing enacted, in the laſt reign, againſt the ancient faith; though no mention had been made of the ſupremacy.

" She aſſures the CARDINAL, how much ſhe honoured his diſpoſitions, with reſpect to the great affair then under conſideration, to his country, and to herſelf. I ſee, my Lord, ſays ſhe, how uſeful and deſirable the purpoſe of your Embaſſy into theſe parts would be, did the ſituation of my affairs, and the inconſtancy of my people, who have been eſtranged from truth, make ſuch a ſtep either ſafe or practicable. But this is ſo far from being the caſe, that your arrival in theſe circumſtances would be attended with great hazard; and inſtead of being received with the reſpect due to a Legate of the holy See, your life would be in danger. I

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4ta, pag. 119.

think

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think it, therefore, more adviſable that you put off your journey, and the execution of your commiſſion, rather than throw every thing here into confuſion, and retard, inſtead of promoting the buſineſs you come on. As to myſelf, my Lord, you can have no doubt but your preſence would be extremely welcome to me. You are acquainted with the ſincerity of my affections, to which your conſtant good offices add a daily increaſe, and which receive a freſh ſenſibility from the remembrance of thoſe adverſities we have ſhared in common; nor is there any thing I ſo ardently wiſh, as to ſee my kingdom exempt from errors, reconciled to the common Parent of all Chriſtians, and in a ſtate of tranquillity. I perceive, however, that it will be impoſſible to obtain fully theſe deſirable ends during the courſe of this Parliament; but that another muſt be called in three or four months, which is alſo the advice of my Council. The meſſenger who brings this, and is a perſon of confidence, will inform you, my Lord, that all the ſtatutes concerning religion, which were paſſed in my Brother's reign, are repealed; and the divine worſhip reinſtated in the form it was at my Father's death. This point was not carried but after a ſharp conteſtation, and the ſtrenuous endeavours of thoſe who are well affected to the cauſe of truth: and all who wiſh well to me, and are of my Council, look on this event as a fortunate omen, and an earneſt of the ancient rites univerſally taking place. You will likewiſe underſtand, that the Houſes made no difficulty to declare my Mother's marriage lawful, which is a tacit acknowledgment of that authority, in virtue of which it was contracted. The bearer will acquaint you with the machinations of the *Scotch* to diſquiet our frontier, and keep up the troubles in *Ireland*. The *French* are not ignorant of this rebellious diſpoſition,

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poſition, and they encourage it; and, for that purpoſe, as I am aſſured by my ſpies, hold a correſpondence with thoſe who are enemies to the meaſures I am purſuing. I apply to you, my Lord, for counſel, and intreat you to take into conſideration the ſtate of my affairs, the plan I propoſe to proceed on, the obſtinacy of my ſubjects, and the difficulties I labour under. Let me know what conduct you would have me obſerve, and where you think me deficient. I am ready to execute, with great alacrity, whatever you, my Lord, and the Council, ſhall judge to be ſafe and advantageous to myſelf and my people: and as ſo much is already advanced, I hope you will ſhortly come to *Bruſſels*, in the character of Legate to the Emperor, from whence we may correſpond more frequently, and with greater eaſe. I deſire nothing more than to be aſſiſted, admoniſhed, and comforted by ſo able, ſo knowing, and ſo religious a perſon. In the mean time I will ſee what can be done to ſerve you, and I will undertake it with the beſt of wills. Farewell, my Lord, and may God keep you in his holy guard *."

*London*, 15th *Nov.* 1553.

I ſhould be wanting to the regard which is due to the Reader, did I imagine he could take offence at the air of religion which appears through all the CARDINAL's anſwers to the Queen, however unlike it may be to what we meet with in ſtate papers. The truth is, he conſidered himſelf as a Prince of the Chriſtian Church, no leſs than a Miniſter of State; and that he wrote not only to a Queen of a great kingdom, but to a woman, in whoſe eſtimate duty held a higher place than a crown; and, accordingly, the meaſures he pro-

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4ta, pag. 121.

poſes

poſes to her are equally drawn from the morality of the Goſpel and human prudence. SECT. VIII.

" In the firſt place he deſires her Majeſty to aſk, for her direction, that *ſpirit of counſel and fortitude*, which he had implored in giving her his advice; that as this double gift had manifeſted itſelf in her acceſſion to the throne, it might ſtill continue to govern her. He reminds her, that had ſhe wanted reſolution, when all human ſuccour failed her, all had been loſt; and if ſhe does not continue to behave with the ſame courage in renouncing a title, which her Father had uſurped in order to divorce the Queen her Mother, and deprive herſelf of her birth-right, ſhe will render the preſent poſſeſſion of it more precarious and difficult; and that ſhe could never want motives to be as zealous in giving up a deſtructive claim, as others had been in aſſerting it to the worſt of purpoſes. Her ſteadineſs, he ſays, ought on this occaſion to be the greater, as what was required was only a compliance with an article eſtabliſhed by all laws, human and divine; whereas, in her Father's caſe, there had been a violation of both. He obſerves, that ſhe had reaſoned very well, in her ſecond letter to him, on the diſtinct juriſdictions of the kingly office and the prieſthood, and had rightly concluded the incongruity of her own ſex for the latter: he ſhould, therefore, only add to what ſhe had remarked, that if the great Apoſtle forbids a woman to teach in the church; how abſurd and iniquitous muſt it be to attribute to any one of that ſex the quality of ſupreme head of it? If a woman, according to the ſame great inſtructor of the Chriſtian world, cannot be ſaid to be the head of one man, to whom ſhe is joined in marriage, becauſe the Law of Nature has inſtituted ſociety on a different plan; both human and divine inſtitutions forbid ſhe ſhould be head of that numerous multitude

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multitude which compoſe a national church. She was, therefore, to conſider this tenet as a matter of the higheſt importance, and, for which, was it neceſſary, ſhe ſhould be ready to lay down her crown and life, as the beſt men in her kingdom, *More* and *Fiſher*, had done: but that any ſuch ſacrifice was ſo far from being required at her hands, that, on the contrary, her welfare here and hereafter was intereſted in reſigning a ſupremacy to that power in which God had inveſted it: and as ſhe now had an authority which enabled her to act in ſo juſtifiable a cauſe, ſhe could not eſcape the cenſure either of God or man, if ſhe did not exert it.

"He comes then to the neceſſary means of accompliſhing this affair, by having it ratified in Parliament; and this, he thinks, will intirely depend on the fitneſs of the perſon who brings it into the Houſe: that having long conſidered on this particular, he ſaw none either of the Spiritual or Temporal Lords, or any of the Commons, who could undertake it with propriety: The Prelates having abetted the contrary opinion by vote and writing, which muſt greatly leſſen their authority, when men heard them now maintain what they had formerly oppoſed: and as to the Lay Peers and the Commons, they were ſo biaſſed by lucrative conſiderations, and, by caſting off the Church's authority, had got poſſeſſion of her revenues, that they could not bring to the debate that impartiality which the matter required. He ſaw, therefore, but one perſon in the whole nation who could make the motion with proper dignity, and would be favourably heard: that this perſon was herſelf, who in this, as well as in all other points, had been blameleſs, and was appointed by Almighty God to defend both his cauſe and her own; and that if her appearance in the lower Houſe was needful, he

he made no difficulty in adviſing her to take that meaſure. He adds, ſhe might communicate this reſolution to a few of the members who had her confidence, and who might ſecond the motion, and repreſent to both Houſes, that, under the name of obedience to the See of *Rome*, no foreign yoke was meant to be impoſed on them, or any kind of ſervitude, under pretence of any utility: that the Biſhop of that See had no ſuch view; and, if he had, ſhe the Queen would never ſuffer it. They may likewiſe add, ſays the CARDINAL, that as this authority is to be acknowledged through my means, I will never agree to any deed by which thraldom is brought on my country, and they ſhall never be deceived by me. I would never have taken on me this negotiation but for the emolument of my fellow-citizens; and that the papal Supremacy being admitted, may become ſalutary not only to this nation, but, by their example, to others alſo, who have renounced it, and, by that defection, were fallen into great misfortunes. SECT. VIII.

" Your Majeſty, continues he, ſhould, at the ſame time, ſignify my having been appointed Legate from the holy See to yourſelf and the kingdom; and that, in order to appear in this character, my attainder muſt be reverſed, and myſelf reſtored to blood, to my honours, and to my country. She well knew, he ſays, the injuſtice done to him and his family, which was dearer to him than himſelf: that nothing could be laid to his charge which deſerved ſuch a treatment, and all his crime conſiſted in refuſing to conſent to innovations, which were prejudicial to the Realm, and detrimental to the Prince who introduced them: that as theſe penalties had been inflicted on him by the authority of Parliament, however contrary to their better judgment and inclination, they were obliged,

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obliged, in conſcience and honour, to repeal them, eſpecially as he came a Meſſenger of reconciliation and peace. As a proof of the integrity of his intentions, he tells her, that though more wealth and honours had been conferred on him, during his baniſhment, than he deſired, or, had it been left to his own choice, would have accepted; yet, if he was ever found to have ſwerved from what he owed to God or his country, he was content to be baniſhed for ever: but that, if the whole tenour of his conduct had hitherto proved the contrary, and that he had ſerved the King, her father, not only with the loyalty of a ſubject, but with the obſequiouſneſs of a ſervant, and the affection of a ſon, and had always endeavoured the real good of his country, all this muſt form a ſtrong preſumption, that his diſpoſitions were ſtill the ſame.

"He deſires her to weigh the diſpleaſure which any further delay in accepting theſe gracious overtures would give the Pope; and that the ſacred College could not but feel the indignity offered to themſelves, if one of their body was hindered from proceeding on his embaſſy for ſuch unſatisfactory reaſons as had been hitherto alleged: that, in order to ſoften the offence, he had ſignified to his Holineſs, that his journey was ſuſpended but for a ſhort time, and till matters could be diſpoſed to a more eaſy and happy concluſion: and, to confirm this report, he had already ſent before him part of his baggage to *Flanders*, and ordered ſome of his retinue to take the ſame rout, and wait for him.

"He adds, that as the Emperor had from the beginning been of opinion, that in what concerned religion, and, namely, in renouncing the title of Supremacy, ſhe ſhould proceed with great caution, and not ſtir in the buſineſs, till her temporal affairs

fairs were more ſettled; he had endeavoured to let his Majeſty ſee, that all procraſtination in this point was prejudicial to herſelf and the nation; and he refers her to his letters to that Prince, by his Secretary *Pening*, of which he ſent her copies. He lets her know, he had prevailed on the Emperor's Confeſſor, who was then with him, and whom he had found to be a perſon of great ſanctity and knowledge, to repair to him, and intreat him, by the regard he had to his laſt and important ſtake, to his reputation, and the affection he bore her Majeſty, to place himſelf above ſuch worldly and unbecoming fears: of which inſtructions he had likewiſe ſent her a copy.

Though he teſtifies great ſatisfaction at the Acts of Parliament, by which *Catharine* of *Aragon*'s marriage was declared lawful, and the Statutes made in *Edward*'s reign, to the prejudice of the Catholic Religion, were repealed; yet he obſerves they were deficient in very material articles, which he ſpecifies at large. And becauſe great knowledge and accuracy were requiſite in what related to divine faith and worſhip; and few, in ſo general a defection, were qualified to indicate the whole extent of the evil, or to apply a remedy; and it not being in his power to come in perſon, and give ſuch information as was neceſſary, he had ſent before him into *Flanders*, among other perſons of rank, two very well qualified for this charge; with one of whom he had a long and intimate acquaintance, and thought himſelf poſſeſſed of a treaſure which few Princes were maſters of; and that the other had given him the higheſt ſatisfaction, ever ſince he had engaged in his ſervice. That it depended on her Majeſty either to take their advice, or not; but, if ſhe did, it was proper it ſhould be known they came on his part.

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"He concludes by obſerving the wonderful providence of God over her innocence, her ſafety, and her dignity; and exhorts her, in a very pathetic manner, to eſtabliſh the ancient doctrine, and aboliſh that Statute which had cauſed many ſpiritual and temporal evils to the kingdom, and had embroiled herſelf in much trouble, and endangered her crown *."

*Delingæ*, 31ſt *Dec.* 1553.

This is the ſum of what the CARDINAL wrote to the Queen, both in the inſtructions ſent by *Goldwell*, and in a letter, in which he recapitulates and inforces what he had largely dwelt on in the former. He ſent theſe diſpatches from *Dilingen*, where the Emperor, for reaſons I am about to relate, had detained him.

*England*, ſince *Mary*'s acceſſion, was, on many accounts, become a deſirable prize; and the ſeveral competitors had conſidered it in that light which ſuited the quality of their different pretenſions. The *Northumberland* and *Suffolk* families had conteſted the crown with the Princeſs, who was heir to it: The ſwarms of foreign and domeſtic ſectaries, which, like locuſts, covered this land of promiſe, endeavoured to withſtand the aſcendant which the ancient faith every day gained; and now the Emperor looked on the Queen as the moſt deſirable match he could procure for his ſon *Philip* of *Spain*. This Prince, hackneyed in the ways of ambition, and the luſt of extent of ſway, had not been inattentive to the incident of *Edward*'s death, and the acceſſion of a Sovereign no leſs connected to his family by affection than blood.

1552. His power, which had received great checks from *Maurice*, Elector of *Saxony*, and very lately from the Duke of *Guiſe*, who obliged him to raiſe the ſiege of *Metz*, and retire with the remains of an

* *Cot.* Libr. *Titus*, b. 2. Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4ta, pag. 123.

army

army of above 100,000 men, had ſhewn him the vanity of that deſtructive glory which is purchaſed by the ſword, and been an uſeful leſſon to thoſe diſturbers of mankind, whom we abſurdly dignify with the appellation of Heroes. He was deſirous to compenſate this reverſe of fortune in the decline of life, by an acquiſition which the preſent ſtate of *England* ſeemed to aſſure to him. SECT. VIII.

On this account, he was no ſooner informed of the late King's death, but he put every courtly art in practice to avail himſelf of it. He conjectured, that the *Spaniſh* alliance would be ungrateful to the *Engliſh* nation; and that, if a reconciliation with the See of *Rome* was attempted at the ſame time, they would be ſtill more averſe to it; and, therefore, he either brought over the Queen to think that the CARDINAL's appearance, at that juncture, was unſeaſonable, and would prove prejudicial to her affairs; or he confirmed her in this opinion. With the ſame view, when *Commendon* ſet out for *England*, he was inſtructed to propoſe his ſon's match to the Queen, in a private audience: to obſerve how the people were affected to her and the Catholic Religion, and to magnify, on his return to *Rome*, the danger of ſending as yet a Legate. He was not without ſome uneaſineſs, leſt the ſingular affection the Queen bore the CARDINAL, and the general eſteem he was held in by the nation, might determine the choice ſhe was to make of a huſband in his favour: and ſhe had been known to aſk, if he might not be diſpenſed with the deaconſhip, as he was not in prieſt's orders. He apprehended him to coincide with the nation's ſentiment in a diſlike of a foreign alliance, and he had gained over *Gardiner* to his intereſt. This Stateſman was too well acquainted with the Queen's diſpoſitions not to know, that, on the CARDINAL's arrival, he muſt reſign the firſt

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place at the Council board, which he then held. Perhaps, likewiſe, he might perſuade himſelf, (as nothing obliges us to refer every thing to ſelfiſh conſiderations) that, if his journey was put off, the Queen's popularity, which was viſible from the ſucceſs ſhe had hitherto met with in whatever ſhe had undertaken, would in time wear away the prejudices with which a cauſeleſs hatred of the See of *Rome* had prepoſſeſſed the minds of the *Engliſh*; and if the *Spaniſh* marriage was concluded before any further ſteps were taken towards a reconciliation with the Pontiff, the weight of ſuch a connection would enable her to effect it with greater eaſe.

Theſe reaſons determined the Emperor, at all events, to hinder the CARDINAL from proceeding on his journey to *England:* and, in order to remove from himſelf the ſuſpicion of being a party in any deſign which concerned religion, though in his way to *England* he was charged to negotiate a peace between the courts of *Madrid* and *Paris*, he refuſed to admit him to his preſence.

In the mean time the LEGATE had entered the *Tyrol*, without any miſtruſt of the obſtacles which were prepared to every purpoſe of his journey. At *Trent* he was received with great magnificence, and every demonſtration of eſteem and good will, by Cardinal *Madruccio*, Biſhop and Prince of that city, who, in the late Conclave, had promoted his election to the Papacy, with a ſteadineſs that nothing could ſhake. From hence he diſpatched *Parapalia* and *Floribello* to the *French* King and the Emperor, to give them notice of his ſpeedy arrival at their reſpective courts, in order to effectuate, on the part of the Pope, a peace, which had been attempted ſo often, and to ſo little effect. *Parapalia* was a perſon of great ſkill and experience, and whom the LEGATE had made uſe of in

in former negotiations: and *Floribello*, who was one of his Secretaries, had a diſtinguiſhed rank among the polite writers of that Claſſic age; and how well he deſerved it, his hiſtory of *Sadolet*'s life, and ſome other works, are ſtill a proof *. SECT. VIII.

From *Trent* the LEGATE ſet out for *Auſburg*, and being within two days journey of that city, was met on the part of the Cardinal Biſhop, who invited him to *Dilingen*, a town in the Circle of *Suabia*, and ſituated on the *Danube*, and where he had, a few years before, founded an Univerſity, and then kept his reſidence. He was received, in all the places through which he paſſed, with the ſame honours he had met with at *Trent* †; and having made ſome ſtay with his munificent friend he ſet out again for *Flanders*, though in the depth of winter, and a very ſevere ſeaſon. As he was making all the expedition which the circumſtances would admit, he was met on the road by *Mendoza*, one of the Emperor's Miniſters, and who had formerly been his Ambaſſador at *Venice*, who delivered to him the following meſſage: "That it would be highly agreeable to his Imperial Majeſty, if he would not proceed any further on his journey, as this delay was conducive to the happy iſſue of the affair on which he came: That notice ſhould be given him when a more favourable opportunity preſented itſelf; and in the mean time, if he did not chooſe to return to *Italy*, he might go to *Liege*; *Orbo Truſches.* in 1549.

* Hic *Floribellus* tum *Polo* ab epiſtolis erat; nunc eſt *Lavellinus* Epiſcopus, et à brevibus, ut vocant, Pontificis Maximi; Vir cùm omni elegantiore doctrinâ perpolitus, tum verò ſummâ latinè ſcribendi facultate et eloquentiâ præditus. Vita *Poli*, fol. 23.

† Cùm audiſſes me *Auguſtâ* bidui iter abeſſe, tuos mihi obviam miſiſti, qui me, per caſtella et vicos tuos, omni officii genere perſequentes, *Dilingam* ad te deducerent. *R. Poli* Epiſtolæ, pars 4ta, pag. 150.

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but was to remain there, and wait the Emperor's pleaſure, as to the purſuit of his journey."

A leſs delicate ſenſe of honour than the LEGATE's would have been more than ſufficient to make him feel the indignity of this proceeding; but, as it was in vain to contend, he judged it moſt adviſable to go back to *Dilingen*, and from thence inform the Pope of what had happened. At the ſame time he expoſtulated with the Emperor, by letter, "how unbecoming it was, that a LEGATE of the holy See, who was ſent on a negotiation of peace, and on other concerns of the moſt intereſting nature, ſhould be forbidden acceſs to his perſon, and be ſtopped in the very heart of *Germany*: that ſuch a ſcene could not but be very pleaſing to the abettors of the new opinions, under whoſe eyes it paſſed; nor fail, in *England*, where it would be ſoon reported, to ſpirit up the adverſaries of the ancient religion: he, therefore, intreated his Majeſty to permit him to come immediately, and remove an obſtacle no leſs diſreſpectful to the holy See, than prejudicial to the purpoſes of his embaſſy. But *Charles* was deaf to any remonſtrances beſides thoſe of intereſt and ambition, and refuſed to ſee the LEGATE, or even to give him leave to come nearer to *Bruſſels*, where he then kept his court, till his ſon's marriage with the Queen was concluded. So great was his jealouſy of the LEGATE's diſapprobation of the *Spaniſh* match, and his deſign to divert the Queen from any thoughts of it, that he prevailed on Lord *Paget* and *Maſon*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors at his court, to cauſe one of his domeſtics, who had been waiting for his Lord a month at *Louvain*, to leave the place *.

The Pope having received intelligence of the Emperor's proceeding towards the LEGATE, ſig-

* Negotiations des *Noailles*, tom. 2. pag. 244.

nified

nified to him "the concern he was under at the difficulties which were raiſed againſt the diſcharge of his embaſſy, and the obſtacles put to his journey, to the deſigns of the holy See, and to the public good. That, on this account, he allowed him to lay aſide, for a time, as he ſhould judge proper, his public character, and go over to *England* as a private perſon: and, when the ſituation of affairs permitted it, to reſume again his quality of Legate, and exerciſe all the functions annexed to it, ſo as neither to bring any detriment to his own perſon, nor yet to want authority when he acted for the public *. SECT. VIII. 8th Dec. 1553.

During this debate, the point which was to reſolve it had been decided in *England*. The Queen's marriage was looked on as neceſſary to the public welfare and tranquillity; and, in a public ſpeech, which I ſhall have occaſion to cite, and in which ſhe ſeems to deliver her ſentiments very ingenuouſly, ſhe ſays, ſhe had taken the reſolution of marrying, in deference to the advice of the Council. The only thing, therefore, under deliberation, was the perſon on whom the choice was to fall. There were three, between whom the general voice ſeemed divided, *Courtney*, Earl of *Devonſhire*, CARDINAL POLE, and *Philip*, heir to *Charles* V. Prince of *Spain*: but *Courtney*'s good mien ſeems to have been his principal recommendation; and CARDINAL POLE, with an infirm ſtate of health, was in the decline of life. The Emperor, as has been ſaid, had engaged *Gardiner*, who was chief of the Council, in *Philip*'s favour, and had lately remitted a vaſt ſum to purchaſe the concurrence of others, who might promote the ſame meaſure. The Queen's affection for her mother's family, which ſhe inherited from that Princeſs, who had

He was 53 years old.

400,000 crowns.

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4ta, pag. 432.

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always borne a ſingular love to her nephew *Charles*, *Philip*'s father, influenced the daughter's choice, and gave *Gardiner* an opportunity of paying his court to her, at the ſame time that he ſeconded the Emperor's deſigns. *Philip* was a widower, had one ſon by a former wife, and was eleven years younger than the Queen, who was eight and thirty. She may, likewiſe, be ſuppoſed to have conſidered the great foreign ſtrength which this alliance brought with it, as an earneſt of her future tranquillity, and what would either prevent or ſuppreſs thoſe domeſtic diſturbances to which ſhe had hitherto been ſo much expoſed.

Theſe reaſons had not the ſame weight with the nation as with the Sovereign, and the general ſenſe of the people was againſt the match. The Commons, as ſoon as it was known that *Gardiner* had propoſed it in council, had deputed a ſolemn committee to the Queen, to remonſtrate againſt a meaſure which they looked on as dangerous to the State: and the apprehenſion of being embroiled in all the quarrels of *Spain*, and becoming, at length, a province to that kingdom, might give very well grounded alarms. *Gardiner*, therefore, gave the Emperor to underſtand, that beſides the influence of *Spaniſh* gold, every other means muſt be employed to remove the odium under which the marriage-treaty lay; and, accordingly, ſuch articles were agreed on as might calm all fears of its conſequences, and ſeemed calculated for the ſecurity, the intereſt, and even the grandeur of *England* *: they were ſigned and ratified by Count *Egmont*, and four other ambaſſadors, whom the Emperor had ſent over for that purpoſe. Both Houſes of Parliament approved of them by every

14th *Jan.* 1554.

* They may be ſeen in *Rymer*, vol. xv. pag. 377; and in the Statutes, 1. *Mariæ*, Parl. 2. cap. 2.

expreſſion

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expreſſion which could denote a ſenſe of the advantages which accrued to the Queen and the realm †.

5th *April.*

The ſatisfaction the Queen had felt on carrying a point of ſuch conſequence with the conſent of the legiſlature, was heightened by the facility with which the ſtatute, which repealed whatever had been enacted in *Edward*'s reign againſt the Catholic Religion, was brought into practice, as this ſeemed to indicate the general diſpoſition of the people. Biſhop *Bonner* being reinſtated in the See of *London*, had celebrated maſs, a few days after, and continued to perform the whole divine office, according to the uſe of the church of *Rome*; and *Thorndon*, Subdean of *Canterbury*, had cauſed the ſame to be performed there. Soon after, orders were given to uſe the *Roman* Ritual throughout the whole kingdom. This was a conſequence of the ſtatute I have mentioned, which ordered religious worſhip to be recalled to the form it had at *Henry* the VIIIth's death ‡, at which time the Liturgy was the ſame as before his breach with the church of *Rome*; the innovations which the Parliament now aboliſhed having been introduced under *Edward*.

*Aug.* 5th, 1553. *Aug.* 27th. *Dec.* 20th.

This re eſtabliſhment of the ancient worſhip, though enacted by the whole legiſlative authority, gave occaſion to a rebellion, which, as it always happens when ſuch attempts fail of ſucceſs, only ſtrengthened that government it was deſigned to overthrow. Sir *Thomas Wyat*, ſon to him, who, when he was *Henry*'s Ambaſſador in *Spain*, would have murdered CARDINAL POLE, was at the head of the rebels, and propoſed to raiſe the *Kentiſh* men, while Sir *Peter Carew*, his principal aſſociate, did the like in *Devonſhire*. The Duke of

† Anno I. *Mariæ*, Parl. 2. cap. 2. ‡ *Ibid.* Seſſ. 2. cap. 2.

*Suffolk*

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*Suffolk* was prevailed on to join them, from a proſpect of reviving his daughter Lady *Jane Grey*'s claim to the crown. The Queen, on the firſt notice of the riſing, ſhewed the ſame preſence of mind ſhe had made appear at her acceſſion; and delivered herſelf to the citizens of *London*, in a ſpeech, which I preſume muſt pleaſe the Reader, as it is equal to any recorded by the *Greek* or *Roman* hiſtorians, to have been ſpoken on the like occaſions. She begins " by informing them of the rebellion; the pretence of which, ſhe ſays, was a diſlike of her intended marriage with *Philip* of *Spain:* that the rebels had the inſolence to demand the government of her royal perſon, the cuſtody of the Tower, and the appointing her Council. She reminds her loving ſubjects, that ſhe was their Sovereign, to whom they had lately ſworn allegiance at her coronation: on which day ſhe was wedded to the realm; and the ring which ſhe then wore, and would ever wear, was the ſolemn pledge of this mutual covenant between her and her people. That her right by inheritance was known and acknowledged by all Chriſtendom. That, though not having been a mother, ſhe had not felt the tenderneſs which that relation brings with it; yet, if a like affection was ever found in a Prince towards his people, ſhe gave them her royal word they ſhould experience it from her. She informs them her intended marriage was reſolved on by the advice of the Council, who had judged it honourable and expedient, both to the dignity of the crown, and the emolument of the kingdom. That, as to herſelf, neither an inclination to wedlock in general, nor a fondneſs for any particular perſon, had influenced her in this determination. That ſhe had hitherto continued a maid; and doubted not, through God's grace, to have remained ſo; but had been determined in this

this affair by the desire of leaving an heir to the crown, as her forefathers had done: and could she foresee this engagement would not redound to the honour and advantage of the realm, she would never consent to it: and, as a proof of her sincerity, she gave them the word of a Queen, that if her Commons and the Nobility were of a different opinion, she would abstain from marriage as long as she lived. She concludes with encouraging them to be as fearless on the occasion of this rebellion as she was; and tells them, the Lord *Howard* and the Lord Treasurer would assist the Mayor in the defence of the city *."

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Sir *Peter Carew* was the first of the accomplices who appeared in arms, and being soon suppressed by the Earl of *Bedford*, fled to *France*. The Duke of *Norfolk*, and Sir *Henry Jernegan*, were sent against *Wyat*; but 500 *Londoners* having deserted from the latter, and joined the rebels, the Duke retired, and took shelter in *London*. This success encouraged *Wyat* to march to *Southwark*; but finding the bridge secured, and the city not disposed to declare for him, he led his forces, which consisted of 4000 men, to *Kingston*; and returning back towards *London*, though he entered *Westminster* without opposition, his followers perceiving they were not joined by any persons of note, left their leader to his ill-fated destiny, and Sir *Maurice Berkeley* seized him near *Temple bar*. The Duke of *Suffolk*, who with his brothers, the Lords *Thomas* and *Leonard Gray*, had endeavoured to raise the counties of *Warwick* and *Leicester*, where their interest lay, were taken by the Earl of *Huntingdon*, at the head of 300 horse, and led prisoners to *London*; where, with *Wyat* and some of the chief

*Feb.* 6th, 1554.

* *Fox*, Acts and Monuments, vol. 2. page 1418.

authors

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authors of the rebellion, they were condemned and executed.

The guilt of the Duke brought on the puniſhment of his daughter the Lady *Jane*, which his ambition had firſt cauſed her to incur. The ſentence had been put off above half a year, and, probably, would never have been executed, had not theſe laſt treaſonable practices made the government apprehend ſhe would always be a pretext for turbulent ſpirits to riſe againſt their lawful Sovereign, and diſturb the peace of the community. Theſe circumſtances, which were to be imputed to the crimes and temerity of others, not to her own blameleſs character, cauſed her to experience a ſeverity, which all the perſonal merit that pleaded in her favour could not avert. No part of the late conſpiracy was imputed to her, but ſhe ſtood legally convicted, and was under ſentence of death, for aſſuming royalty at *Edward*'s death.

The ſentence being intimated to her, ſhe ſaid, "ſhe had deſerved it, for uſurping a crown which belonged to another; but, at the ſame time, ſhe related the little ſhare ſhe had in that tranſaction, and the conſtraint put on her by her family: that it was no eaſy matter for a perſon ſo young as ſhe was, to withſtand the authority of a father, and a huſband, and of ſo many of the nobility; and it would be her peculiar fate to be juſtly condemned, and yet die innocent." Her huſband, who lay under the ſame ſentence, ſent to deſire he might give her the laſt aſſurances of his tenderneſs; to which ſhe anſwered, "that ſuch endearments did not ſuit their preſent ſituation, and would but increaſe their affliction; and wiſhed him to call off his affections from this world, and fix them on a better, where they ſhould ſhortly meet to be ſeparated no more." To great beauty, and all the ſofter accompliſhments of female education, ſhe had

had joined the knowledge of the learned languages, and had given much time and application to the Scriptures: a ſtudy which, however undertaken by the ſex on a ſpecious principle of ſeeking truth, but too often betrays them into errors, or confirms them in thoſe they have already imbibed. The Queen having appointed a very able and religious clergyman to attend her in her confinement, and uſe all endeavours to convince her of the truth of the Catholic doctrine; the kindneſs, ſhe ſaid, came too late, and that ſhe had not leiſure to enquire after that truth which ſhe ſhould ſoon behold in its ſource: and though her execution was put off ſome days on that proſpect, ſhe perſiſted in the ſame ſentiments. The conſtable of the Tower, who led her to the ſcaffold, aſking of her the book of devotions ſhe held in her hand, ſhe readily gave it him, after having firſt tranſcribed out of it, in *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Engliſh*, a ſentence which imported that ſhe died innocent, and hoped to find that juſtice from God, which had been denied her by men. Being come to the place of execution, ſhe looked with a placid countenance on the crowd that ſtood round, and ſpoke no more than to bid them farewell, and be mindful of her innocence: and taking the prieſt, who ſtill continued his exhortations, by the hand, ſhe thanked him for the many good offices ſhe had received from him, and the concern he had expreſſed to bring her over to his opinion, as ſhe very well knew he had proceeded on the beſt of motives: but told him withal, that his diſcourſes had given her greater uneaſineſs than the apprehenſion of what ſhe was about to ſuffer. Then kneeling down before the axe, and covering her face with her hair, ſhe received the ſtroke which ſevered her head from her body. The ſighs, the tears, and mournful ſilence of the beholders, ſufficiently witneſſed what their

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Sir *John Gage.*

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their ſentiments were of the circumſtances of her death, and of the decent and ſteady manner with which ſhe ſubmitted to it.

CARDINAL POLE was ſtill at *Delingen* when the articles of the Queen's marriage were agreed to, and the rebellion I have ſpoken of ſuppreſſed: and he availed himſelf of theſe incidents to prevail on the Emperor to permit him to have acceſs to his perſon, and to put no further obſtacle to his proceeding on his journey to *England*: for ſince *Mary* had entertained thoughts of marrying *Philip*, *Charles* had made her enter into his own jealouſies and ſuſpicions of the LEGATE's ſpeedy arrival, and ſhe begun to preſs it with leſs earneſtneſs. With this view the LEGATE ſent *Peter Soto*, who had formerly been *Charles*'s confeſſor, and was now at the head of a ſeminary at *Delingen*, "to intreat him not to put any further delay to an embaſſy which was undertaken on no other motives but thoſe of religion and peace; and to which the obſtacles put on the Emperor's part muſt redound greatly to his diſhonour, to the detriment of the common cauſe, and of *England* in particular:" And the Emperor, who had now no longer any reaſon to caution himſelf againſt the offence the *Engliſh* might take at his receiving the LEGATE, conſented to his coming to *Bruſſels*, and received him, on his arrival, with great ſhew of eſteem and affection.

18th *Jan.* The Queen, ſome time before, had conſulted the LEGATE how ſhe was to act with reſpect to the vacant Biſhoprics; as ſhe foreſaw ſhe ſhould be obliged to deprive ſeveral who then held them of their Sees; and ſhe did not intend, in the choice ſhe was to make, either to give up any rights of the crown, or extend the prerogative, and derogate from the authority which the holy See had enjoyed in thoſe collations, before the nation's breach with

with the church of *Rome*. The CARDINAL had replied, "that the bearer of his letter, from the long and frequent conferences he had with him on this head, knew his mind ſo throughly, that there was no need of any written inſtructions, but he would inform her by word of mouth. About this time, therefore, the Queen iſſued out a commiſſion †, by which all the married clergy were deprived of their benefices, as being diſqualified to poſſeſs them. This inability, as extraordinary as it may now appear, was founded on the conſtant practice of the weſtern church, ever ſince the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity; on the unanimous authority of the Canons, and the ſolemn engagement to celibacy the Clergy take at their ordination: on the fourth of *Henry* VIIIth's ſix articles, which the Parliament had paſſed into a law, and which the late ſtatute, which recalled all religious matters to their condition at that Prince's death, had ratified; which made this injunction as legal and parliamentary, as it was juſt and canonical. In conſequence of theſe orders, *Holgate*, Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Biſhops of St. *David*'s, *Cheſter*, and *Briſtol*, who had been regulars; and, beſides the promiſe made at their ordination, had broken the ſolemn vows made on entering on a religious ſtate; and thoſe of *Glouceſter* and *Hereford*, who were of the ſecular Clergy, were deprived; *Scory* and *Barlow*, Biſhops of *Chicheſter* and *Bath*, who were in the ſame caſe, left the kingdom *.

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15th and 16th *Mar.*

The

† Rot. par. 1°, *Mar.* pars 7ma, and another tranſlated by Bp. *Burnet*, part 2. b. 2. page 257 of his Hiſtory of the Reformation.

* It may not be diſagreeable to the Reader to have ſome account of the chief of theſe depoſed Biſhops, as it is given by Proteſtant hiſtorians.

*Holgate*, Archbiſhop of *York*. not only made uſe of the indulgent doctrine, which, in *Edward*'s reign, allowed the Clergy

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16th *April*, 1554. The Queen ſoon after ſignified to the Pope the concurrence of the legiſlature, in what ſhe had done towards the re-eſtabliſhment of the ancient worſhip; and the qualities of the perſons ſhe had made choice of for the vacated See; and the

10th *July*. Pontiff, in his anſwer, congratulates her on the firſt part of the intelligence; and, in the accuſtomed ſtile of the court of *Rome*, lets her know, he ſhould ſhortly ſend the letters patent, in virtue of which the Biſhops were to be conſecrated, and

gy to marry, but extended the licence to take another man's wife. *Collier*, Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. 2. b. 5. p. 349.

*Robert Farrar* was, firſt, chaplain to *Cranmer*; and then, by the Protector *Seymour*'s favour, promoted to the Biſhopric of St. *David*'s; but, on that nobleman's fall, fifty-ſix articles were exhibited againſt him, for which he was confined during the remainder of *Edward*'s reign, and now degraded. Ath. *Oxon.* p. 679.

*John Bird*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*, was a *Carmelite* frier, and for his obſequiouſneſs to the court meaſures at the diſſolution of the monaſteries, and a remarkable ſermon in ſupport of the lay ſupremacy, was promoted to a See in *Ireland*; from whence he was tranſlated to *Bangor*, and in 1541 to *Cheſter*. He went all the lengths of *Henry*'s and *Edward*'s reigns, and made uſe of the indulgence which the latter allowed of taking a wife. Being deprived of his Biſhopric, he lived privately at *Cheſter* till his death, in 1556. *Bale*, cent. 11. N°. 41. *Pitts*, de Illuſt. *Ang.* Script. *Godwin*, de Præſul. *Ang.*

*Paul Buſh*, Biſhop of *Briſtol*, was an *Auguſtine* frier, and had been chaplain to *Henry* VIII. who promoted him to that See, for his compliance with the court meaſures. But though he betrayed the ſame paſſive diſpoſition during *Edward*'s reign, and took a wife, he was never known either to preach or write againſt the ancient religion. He readily gave up his Biſhopric at the Queen's command, and parted from his wife, and lived privately in *Briſtol* till his death, in 1558. *Godwin* de Præſul. *Ang.* Ath. *Oxon.*

*William Barlow*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, was a Canon Regular, and very active both in promoting the diſſolution of religious houſes in *Henry*'s reign, and forwarding the various innovations of *Edward*'s. Being deprived of his Biſhopric on account of marriage, he fled to *Germany*. *Godwin* de Præſul. *Angl.* Ath. *Oxon.* vol. 1. pag. 156.

put

put in poſſeſſion of their reſpective Biſhoprics *. With what diſcernment the choice of thoſe who were nominated to the vacant Sees was made, and how deſervedly thoſe who had been deprived in the late reigns, for non-compliance, were now reinſtated, the event verified: for, on the Queen's death, when the Catholic religion was again proſcribed, *Kitchin*, Biſhop of *Landaff*, who, *Proteus* like, had put on all the forms of religion of the three laſt reigns, was the only one of that venerable bench who ſubmitted to this change. Neither loſs of wealth and dignity, nor the hardſhips of priſon and baniſhment, ſhook their firmneſs: and Dr. *Heath*, Archbiſhop of *York*, and Chancellor, at the opening of the firſt Parliament under *Elizabeth*, made a diſcourſe on that Princeſs's ſupremacy, which, for clearneſs and ſolidity, may vie with any of the pleadings of *Tully* or *Demoſthenes* †. SECT. VIII.

On a ſuppoſition that *Holgate*'s errors and ſcandalous life had vacated his See; and, in this caſe, that the right of appointing a ſucceſſor was devolved to the Pope, the Pontiff had been applied to. On this the LEGATE, who had intelligence of it, wrote to him in the following manner. I ſhall content myſelf with giving the Reader the ſubſtance of his letter, as I have met with nothing elſe that throws any light on this dark tranſaction. He begins "by thanking his Holineſs for the hopes he had given him of ſeeing an offence ceaſe, which had been cauſed by the ambition of one who gave himſelf out for an *Engliſhman*. There are many reaſons, ſays he, which make me deſire that a deſign, which has its origin in craft and

* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 4ta, pag. 435.

† Hiſt. Col. pag. 225. In the original this ſpeech is ſtyled, *A tale told in Parliament*.

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ambition, ſhould meet with diſappointment; but none more prevalent than a perſuaſion, that if this inſidious manner of proceeding has ſucceſs, there is hardly any thing can more alienate the minds of the *Engliſh*, who yet retain a reſpect for your Holineſs; of whom, I make no doubt, there are great numbers, though they want reſolution to declare themſelves. They will be caſt into utter deſpair of ever receiving any comfort from the apoſtolic See, if their chief Biſhoprics, and particularly that which borders on *Scotland*, with which kingdom we are almoſt perpetually at war, are given away at the recommendation of the *Scotch*. I am particularly offended that this candidate ſhould overlook all conſiderations of the public good, and addreſs himſelf, in a petition fraught with falſhood, firſt to your Holineſs, and then to the ſacred College, and endeavour, by ſo much ſubterfuge, to avoid the certificates of his own countrymen, if, as he ſays, he is a native of *England*, which I muſt doubt, and imagine all this to be no more than a contrivance to thruſt himſelf into a dignity, to which the natural-born ſubjects of the realm have a much better claim *." There is no further mention of this affair, which muſt be looked on as perſonal to his character, to whom it is imputed; but cannot, without great malignity, be perverted into a national reflection.

He had not been long at *Bruſſels* before the Emperor gave him to underſtand, he could not conſent to his going to *England* till his ſon's marriage with the Queen was over; and deſired him to ſuſpend his journey. The Reader has already been informed, that beſides the LEGATE's primary embaſſy to the Queen and the *Engliſh* nation, he was charged with another to the Em-

* Epiſt. *R. Peli* pars 4ta, pag. 41.

peror

peror and the *French* King, in order to put an end to a long and deſtructive war between thoſe two powers, and bring about a reconciliation, which the Cardinals of *Imola* and St. *George* had in vain endeavoured, and had been recalled. He made uſe, therefore, of the leiſure he now had, to diſcharge the ſecond part of his commiſſion; and began the overtures of what might advance ſo ſalutary a deſign, at the court where he yet was. The Emperor ſeemed to hear with approbation what the LEGATE's prudence ſuggeſted on that head; and anſwered, he was not averſe to peace, if honourable conditions were propoſed, and ſuch as would procure a laſting concord: but that no negotiation could be ſet on foot till the intentions of the *French* King were known *; on which the LEGATE ſet out for that court. SECT. VIII.

Whilſt he was on the road, he drew up the chief reaſons which ſhould prevail on the two Potentates to conclude a peace. This diſcourſe, which is long, and written in *Italian*, he propoſed to leave with each of them. I ſhall give the Reader a ſummary of the moſt material articles, as they diſcover the profound reflections the author made on human events, and the diſtinct and comprehenſive view in which he conſidered what he took in hand.

" He deſires theſe Princes, in the firſt place, to rank themſelves in the number of thoſe who look on war as a calamity; and a return of peace as the greateſt bleſſing which could befal the afflicted ſtate of Chriſtendom; and, therefore, to aſk it of that Being who alone could diſpenſe it, ſo as to be ſalutary to themſelves and their kingdoms. He then deſires them to conſider the cauſes which had hindered their former treaties from being of

* *Poli* vita, fol. 24. à tergo.

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longer duration; and to avoid hereafter the ſame obſtacles: and, in order to attain this knowledge, they were to weigh the condition and form of theſe treaties, the manner of making them, their beginning and concluſion. That they could perceive nothing which moves Princes to make peace, and which human ſagacity and induſtry could foreſee and lay hold of, had been omitted on either ſide to bring them to a reconciliation. The firſt of theſe motives, which is generally drawn from the exhauſted ſtate of the hoſtile powers, had often been their caſe. A ſecond inducement to peace, when one of the powers at war was ſo much ſuperior, as to have his adverſary at his mercy, had not been wanting to the Emperor's good fortune with reſpect to *Francis* I. and ſeemed to promiſe an end to all future contention. A third ſurety of concord had likewiſe been pledged by each of them, when, forgetting their paſt animoſities, they voluntarily united in mutual peace, at the treaty of *Aigues Mortes*. Yet all theſe aſſurances were ſo far from being ſucceeded by a firm and laſting concord, that they only ſeemed calculated to make the flame of war break out again with greater rage: and this had happened not from any inability in the Negotiators, but from want of good faith, and thoſe diſpoſitions without which peace is not brought about. Theſe treaties, therefore, like the buildings mentioned by the Prophet, which are not compacted with proper cement, but only plaſtered over to the eye, had fallen to pieces almoſt as ſoon as they were raiſed; and the contracting parties had not only received no advantage from them, but great detriment, and, during theſe intervals, had been ſet on contriving miſchief to one another, more than in time of war.

"He then comes to the conſtant diſappointment which their mutual ambition had met with; ſince neither

neither of them had obtained, through ſuch a length of contention, either the honours or the increaſe of dominion which had been the object of ſuch laſting ſtrife. Every thing, on the contrary, had fallen out againſt their expectation; and when contention ceaſed, the emoluments which were propoſed from amity had not followed, and contention and agreement had been equally unavailing to the deſired end. That the Emperor might be ſatisfied of this, if he reflected, not only on the ſituation of his affairs within theſe three or four laſt years he had been at war with the preſent King; but called to remembrance the events of *Henry* II. thirty years paſt or more, ſince theſe calamities began, and the almoſt perpetual ſtate of hoſtility he had been in with *Francis* his father. During which time, though there had been ſeveral conventions of peace; yet as they had not been attended, on either ſide, with ſincerity, all that ſpace was to be accounted a time of open or hidden war, rather than of peace. SECT. VIII.

"Now if they would conſider what acquiſition they had made by ſuch an expence of men and money, they would find themſelves not only to have failed of what they aimed at, but to have expoſed the Chriſtian cauſe to great peril. *Solyman*, by theſe proceedings, was become maſter of two of the bulwarks of Chriſtendom, *Belgrade* and the Iſland of *Rhodes*: he had lain *Hungary* waſte, as far as *Buda*, and conquered that long tract of provinces which is watered by the *Danube*. *Italy*, on both ſides, was expoſed to the inſults of his fleets; the *Mediterranean* and *Adriatic* Seas infeſted by them; and, had it not pleaſed the divine Providence to check his progreſs by the Emperor of *Perſia*, there was nothing he might not have promiſed himſelf from our diſagreements; and

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had, as things then were, compenſated his loſſes in the Eaſt, by what he had gained on us.

" If it be replied, that, notwithſtanding theſe loſſes, you have made yourſelves amends by adding ſeveral cities and provinces to your former dominions; the anſwer is ready, that, if the ſums employed in making and ſecuring theſe acquiſitions be taken into the account, together with the wretched condition of theſe conquered ſtates, you will be found to have purchaſed no more than a ſlender appearance of utility, at the hazard of general deſtruction.

" That the Emperor could not imagine the ſignal favours, by which Providence had diſtinguiſhed him, were deſigned for ſuch purpoſes. That, when he was born, *Philip* his father was not King of *Spain*; nor would, afterwards, have been ſo, had not the death of the next in blood made room for him: nor was the *French* King the next heir to the crown; much leſs his father *Francis*. That they might both learn, from the fortune which attended their reſpective families, they held their kingdoms of Almighty God, by a peculiar tenure: and, if they ſtood in need of any other inſtructor concerning Providence, their own experience might inform them. That though the Emperor's dominions were larger than thoſe of the *French* King; yet *France* was a more compact ſtate, and the ready obedience of the inhabitants gave the Sovereign an advantage which the other wanted. Notwithſtanding which, *Francis* I. a youthful Monarch, who had a powerful army of veteran troops, and the means to ſupport them, and had availed himſelf of this circumſtance, and invaded the Emperor's hereditary provinces with a formidable force, was ſo far from obtaining the victory he had promiſed himſelf, that he loſt *Savoy*,

*voy*, which he had lately with ſo much glory overcome. SECT. VIII.

"On the other hand, the Emperor's diſappointment had been ſo much the more ſenſible, as the greater number of his troops, and the abundance of all thoſe aids by which war is carried on, ſeemed to give him a more aſſured confidence of ſucceſs. After the taking of *Tunis*, he ſailed from *Africa* to the coaſt of *Provence*, with a numerous hoſt, and at a time when the *French* King was, on all accounts, unprepared to make head againſt him; yet there he met with a defeat; as he did again, when having conquered the Duke of *Cleves*, who had joined the *French*, and was eſteemed the great ſupport of that nation, every thing elſe ſeemed eaſy: yet here a town, on the frontiers of *France*, of ſmall ſtrength, and whoſe name is hardly known, checked this progreſs, and put an end to the war. And afterwards, when the Emperor, in league with the King of *England*, made another attack on the *French* territories, it had not the event which was expected. The e leſſons, he ſays, were ſufficient to inform them, they had not received ſuch extent of dominion to annoy and harraſs one another, but to look on themſelves as Patrons of juſtice, and miniſters of clemency. He concludes, by placing before their eyes the evils, for which they are accountable to an all-knowing and inexorable Judge; and ſhewing, that their examination will be ſo much the more rigorous than that of private perſons, as they will not be charged with their own perſonal failings alone, but with the miſdemeanours of thoſe who have governed ill under their authority. That if ambition had been the real motive of their wars, whatever others were pretended, it would be ſo far from alleviating their guilt, that they would undergo the puniſhment due to that variety of miſ-

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chiefs, of which war was the cauſe; and if the leaſt of theſe, when perpetrated by private perſons, and tried at a human bar, were deemed unworthy of mercy, how would their caſe be at a higher and more awful tribunal? That, to ſum up all he would ſay; the whole affair of peace, now in debate, did not ſo much depend on the conditions to be agreed on, which might be as eaſily broken as they were made, as on the diſpoſitions the contracting parties bore to each other, when they made the treaty. If they really intended the public utility, an equitable accommodation might ſoon be found; but if ſelfiſhneſs and private ends were the ſtandard of the negotiation, though contention ceaſed, and an end was put to the war, the peace, nevertheleſs, would not be to their advantage, nor to that of the public, but a beginning to more miſchievous quarrels than thoſe it ſeemed to conclude *."

There are ſeveral pathetic addreſſes to both the Princes, through the whole diſcourſe; and he repreſents the obligation they lay under of cauſing the evils to ceaſe, which afflicted *Europe*, and particularly their own ſubjects, in every light it can be conſidered.

The LEGATE arrived at the *French* court in the laſt week of *Lent*; and the King having ſignified to him, that he could not have audience till the ſolemnity of thoſe days was over, he took that opportunity of ſending his Majeſty the diſcourſe on peace, which he had juſt finiſhed; and, by a letter written on that purpoſe, intreated him to weigh the arguments it contained. Being afterwards admitted to audience, he urged the reconciliation he came to negotiate, from ſuch principles as were drawn from his ſkill in public affairs, and the

* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 4ta, p. 402.

goodneſs

goodneſs of his own heart; and ſuch as became his high birth, and the dignity of his character. He repeated them to the Cardinal of *Lorrain* and the Lord High Conſtable, who were the favourites, and the chief miniſters; but all to as little purpoſe as the former attempts, which had been made to gain the ſame end. On his leaving the court, the King ſignified in public his great regard for him, and the regret he had of being ſo late acquainted with his merit; adding, that had he known him when *Paul* III. died, no one elſe ſhould have had his intereſt and recommendation for the Papacy *.

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In his return to *Bruſſels*, as he approached the confines of the *French* and *Auſtrian* territories, he was witneſs of the ſad effects of war, which had been chiefly felt in thoſe places, where the very earth ſeemed to ſmoke, and every thing wore the face of miſery and devaſtation. Though his embaſſy had not mitigated the hoſtile diſpoſitions of the King of *France* towards the Emperor, yet he had not left his court without ſome ſlender hopes of an enſuing accommodation; and theſe were greedily received and magnified by a ruined people, and aſcribed to his abilities and good offices. The inhabitants, therefore, of the frontier places, eſpecially the women, the children, and the aged people, came out in crowds to meet him; they ſtrewed the roads where he paſſed with flowers and odoriferous herbs, and hailed him as an angel of peace, by whoſe mediation the deſtroyer's ſword was at length to be ſheathed †.

When he came back to the Emperor, that Prince ſeemed diſpleaſed at his negotiation with the *French* King; and complained, that in the written diſcourſe, which was alike addreſſed to them both, he had ſhewed a partiality to his rival. This was

* *Poli* vita, fol. 25. † Ibid.

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one of thoſe artifices, in which *Charles*'s temper was very fruitful, and contrived to hinder the Legate's departure for *England*, which he was reſolved ſhould not take place till after his ſon's arrival in that kingdom, and his marriage with the Queen. His friend, Cardinal *Morone*, informed him, that this intelligence had been ſent to *Rome*; and it was added, that the LEGATE, wearied out with diſappointments and contradictions, was deſirous to be recalled. To which he made the following anſwer.

" He begins by teſtifying his concern at the diſpleaſure which his Holineſs had conceived, from an information that his return to the court of *Bruſſels* had not been agreeable to the Emperor; and that this news was the more unwelcome, as the Pope had entertained great hopes not only of recalling *England* to the unity of the Catholic Church, but alſo of treating of a peace between the Emperor and the *French* King. But that, ſuppoſing his arrival was as little pleaſing to the former of theſe Princes, as it had been reported, he did not ſee what change this could cauſe in the affairs of *England*, as theſe had been carried on in conſequence of the letter which the Queen wrote to the Pope, of the grants of the vacant Biſhoprics, and other articles, which were placed out of all uncertainty: inſomuch, that nothing ſeemed wanting to the deſired ſucceſs of this buſineſs, but the diſcuſſion of the church revenues, concerning which his Holineſs's pleaſure had been conſulted. That, as to the final reconciliation of the nation, as the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* had lately aſſured him, there had been no appearance of effecting it during the laſt Parliament. Now, as to the concluſion of a peace, it had nothing in common with the Emperor's ſuppoſed diſſatisfaction; and could only affect his, the LEGATE's perſon, not the cauſe: but

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but if he was, in any ſenſe, connected with the general intereſt, there was nothing he was not diſpoſed to do in order to promote it. He well perceived, he ſays, that he had been repreſented as a perſon who did not approve of the Queen's marriage with the Prince of *Spain*, and that his taciturnity on that article had paſſed for diſlike: but that to every equitable perſon he muſt appear to have acted the only part which became him. He did not deny, but whilſt he was at *Dilingen*, tho' the marriage was the ſubject of all converſations, he had neither mentioned it in his letters to the Queen, nor ordered the meſſengers he diſpatched to her from time to time to take any notice of it; becauſe he thought it would be a treſpaſs on the reſpect he owed her Majeſty, and detrimental to the principal buſineſs he had in hand, if he made any mention of ſuch like affairs, before they were notified to him by the party whom they concerned.

" That as ſoon as her Majeſty's Ambaſſadors, by her orders, had informed him of this piece of news, at his coming to *Bruſſels*; and that her motives for contracting this alliance were the deſire of eſtabliſhing the State on a ſolid and laſting foundation, and of leaving poſterity to her people; he had then congratulated her on a choice which had been directed by ſuch integrity and uprightneſs, and offered himſelf to ſerve both her and her Royal Conſort to the utmoſt of his abilities; and that this had been the conſtant tenor of his converſations, both in public and private, ever ſince. As a further argument of the ſincerity of his proceedings in this regard, he alleges his behaviour to his nephew, whom, when he was in *France*, he forbid his houſe, and not only refuſed to receive ſeveral letters of diſaffected and paſſionate perſons like himſelf; but earneſtly intreated the *French* King not to give ear to ſuch perſons and ſuch matters.

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ters. That, whoever conſidered the time and place in which he had behaved in this manner, with what a Prince he had to deal, who was very deſirous to detain him in his kingdom, and engage him in his views, and then reflects how ſuddenly he left that court, muſt neceſſarily conclude, that the Emperor could no longer miſtruſt his zeal for his ſervice, or be diſpleaſed with his departure from *France*. Had I continued there, ſays he, ſeveral diſcontented *Engliſh*, not being informed of my diſpoſitions, would have flocked to me, as I eaſily foreſaw, from the great number who reſorted to that kingdom during the ſhort ſtay I made there. In order, therefore, to take away all hope of my being a ſupport to faction, which the bare report of being in *France* would have kept up, I came away; and this, methinks, was doing the Queen and his Imperial Majeſty ſome ſervice; and ſhewed, at the ſame time, how ſincerely I deſired the tranquillity of my country; and, were other reaſons wanting, muſt juſtify the ſtep I took.

" He had, moreover, he ſays, ſignified the ſame ſentiments to her Majeſty; for writing to her, very lately, on the Parliament not having concluded a reconciliation with the Catholic Church, and being deſirous to mitigate the grief ſhe ſuffered on that delay, he had conſidered it as a diſpoſition of the divine Providence, and was willing to hope, that as a nuptial diſagreement between an *Engliſh* King and a *Spaniſh* Queen had cauſed the breach which was ſo much lamented, the connubial concord of a *Spaniſh* King and an *Engliſh* Queen would be the means of reſtoring the ancient union. That, on this account, he offered up his ſupplications for the ſpeedy and happy arrival of the Prince; as he made no doubt, but the very firſt act of the Parliament, which would then be ſummoned, would be to enact

enact what was to be the foundation of every good which was to be derived on their reign; and might well be expected from Princes, who held the concerns of religion in that high eſteem, in which the ſupreme Being, and the very nature of things had placed them, that is, above all other conſiderations. SECT. VIII.

" He adds, that he not only wrote to the Queen in this ſtyle, but to thoſe who ſeemed diſſatisfied with the King for being a foreigner; and doubted not, but the *Engliſh* would be as much undeceived in the good qualities of a foreign Prince, and the advantages they would reap from them, as they had been deceived, to the offence of the divine Majeſty, and their own private and public ruin, in that Prince who had chaſtiſed them with as heavy a rod as was ever felt, not only from an alien but an enemy. In this ſtrain, ſays he, I reaſon with all who diſcourſe with me on the ſubject, whether they are pleaſed or not; and put on a ſort of prophetic air, that I may pacify the malcontents; and, as far as words can go, confirm the well-meaning: and, if this behaviour is not ſufficient to clear me of all ſuſpicion, I know not what is; ſince any thing beyond it muſt appear affectation, to which my temper is very averſe; and which, inſtead of perſuading, creates diſtruſt. And though, at firſt, the expediency of this marriage might ſeem problematical, yet, ſince it is concluded, I ſhall look on it as a preſage of my country's future felicity.

" As for what he had done in *France* towards a peace, the Cardinal, to whom he writes, was informed, he ſays, of the whole, and had ſeen the *French* King's anſwer, which was drawn up in ſuch a manner, that the Emperor might take occaſion from it either to continue the war, or make an overture of reconciliation; as the exorbitant demands

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mands which the firſt part of the Memorial contained, furniſhed a reaſon for continuing hoſtilities, and the other part gave an opening to the latter; eſpecially as he had acquainted the Emperor of what the *French* Miniſters had informed him by word of mouth. Inſomuch, that had he been the moſt artful of men, and had no other deſign than of ſerving his Imperial Majeſty, he could not have brought to a more deſirable iſſue an affair which he had managed with ſimplicity. If therefore, as his friend aſſured him, the holy Father thought he had given no juſt occaſion of offence, particularly as things had turned out, he might confirm him in this opinion.

" He concludes with aſſuring the Cardinal, that though he might ſeem to have ſignified a deſire of being recalled, yet this was only on a ſuppoſition that the Emperor's diſpleaſure allowed him to be no longer ſerviceable to his Holineſs and the common cauſe; and did not proceed from ſhunning labour, and a deſire of reſt. That he had, indeed, informed the Pope of what had been ſaid to him at his return; firſt by the Emperor, then by the Biſhop of *Arras*, and ſtill more openly by the Nuncio; that violence of words could go no greater lengths; and had he not taken them in the ſenſe they were meant, he muſt have been more inſenſible than an inanimate being: but as to his being recalled or not, he left it intirely to the Pope's determination, and ſhould look on that as moſt ſalutary, which, in his great wiſdom, he judged beſt *." This letter was dictated to a Secretary, and is, on that account, more prolix than if it had been of the LEGATE's writing. I have only ſet down the heads, which are there treated very diffuſely.

25th *May*, 1554.

* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 4ta, pag. 138.

Some

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Some ſhort time before he wrote another letter to the ſame perſon, much in the ſame ſtyle as this; which I ſhall here lay before the Reader, becauſe it throws a great light on the conſtitutional caſt of the LEGATE's mind, no leſs than on his virtue, and the command he had of himſelf. It is ſomewhat long, as thoſe narratives are apt to be, in which we enter on a detail of ourſelves with perſons who have our whole confidence.

" I will, my Lord, no longer conceal from you the cauſe I imagined I had to expoſtulate with your Lordſhip, in ſuch a ſtrain as is very conſiſtent with friendſhip; or, to ſpeak more properly, is owing to it. Your Lordſhip, in the latter part of your letter, informs me, that though the Pope, and others whom it may concern, were ſatisfied with the ſincerity of my diſpoſitions; yet you had ſome miſgivings, leſt a ſatiety of the world, and want of ambition, ſhould cauſe me to withdraw from buſineſs, and betake myſelf to a private life. You remind me, therefore, that though the ſupreme Being be all-ſufficient of himſelf to conduct human affairs as he pleaſes, and to make every thing ſubſervient to his glory; yet it is his will that we, in our turn, ſhould ſecond the views of his providence, and not be wanting to the poſts he has aſſigned us. Had this method of reaſoning been employed by one who was not intimately acquainted with me, I ſhould not have wondered; as I frequently make uſe of it myſelf, and am accuſtomed to refer the whole glory of each good work to the Almighty; and to acknowledge, with all gratitude and humility, whatever is laudable to proceed from him. My manner of living, which, for the moſt part, has been to retire often to my ſtudies, and not thruſt myſelf into action, or to ſhew any deſire of thoſe employments which lead to the buſy ſcenes of life, might eaſily induce a perſon

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a perſon who was a ſtranger to me, to imagine, either that I am very lazy, or that I make more account of myſelf than of the public; or that I am of their opinion, who perſuade themſelves, that God being ſufficient to compaſs every thing by his power and providence, all they have to do is to wait till he puts them in action. But that your Lordſhip, to whom, as I ſaid, I ought to be thoroughly known, ſhould entertain any ſuch judgment of me, I cannot ſufficiently wonder, eſpecially as the intercourſe we have long had with each other, has not only led you into the knowledge of that kind of ſtudies, to which ſome perſons will needs have it that I give up too much of my time; but alſo into my motive for ſo doing.

"And now, as an opportunity offers, I will enlarge myſelf ſomewhat on the end I propoſe in what I do, and how far my ambition reaches. I have formerly told you, my Lord, what I here repeat, that, whether through puſillanimity, or whatever other cauſe, I was never deſirous to be the head or chief magiſtrate, who bears univerſal ſway, and aſſigns to each one his poſt; yet I was ever ready to aſſiſt any one who was willing to govern well and knew how to do ſo; that is, who referred the ſway he bore to his ſervice, from whom all power is derived, and to the advantage of thoſe he governed. Theſe have always been my diſpoſitions; nor do I remember to have ever withdrawn myſelf from the ſervice of my Prince, or of any private friend, unleſs when my aſſiſtance was not aſked; or, if it was, I was not left at large to conſult the real honour and advantage of the parties concerned: and to this, not one part, but the whole courſe of my life bears evidence.

"I will, in the firſt place, produce an inſtance in that Prince, to whom I had more ties than to all others, and was ſo deſirous to comply with them,

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them, that I had rather have ſerved him, though with the utmoſt difficulty and hazard of life itſelf, than have enjoyed a long and uninterrupted proſperity under any other. I quitted his ſervice on no other account, but becauſe he exacted of me what was contrary to his own true glory, and the intereſt of my country; though, by ſo doing, I left the high road to wealth and preferment. I proceeded on the ſame principle, when being afterwards called to the ſervice of that Prince, to whom the ſupreme Ruler has commanded an univerſal deference; and being charged with ſeveral laborious and hazardous employments, I never refuſed to acquit myſelf of any, and never put my private ſtudies or occupations in competition with the moſt ſlender advantage I could procure to the meaneſt perſon in the univerſe.

"I readily grant, indeed, that I am not accuſtomed to obtrude myſelf, and go about in queſt of buſineſs; and this has given ſome, who are not acquainted with me, occaſion to aſcribe my ſolitude to other motives than the true: for when I ſhall be called forth to action by thoſe who have a right to command my ſervice, or ſtand in need of it, I am not afraid to ſay, there is no labour or danger which I ſhall not be ready to face.

"But, to come to a greater detail with reſpect to the affair I have now in hand, your Lordſhip may ſay, that ſince I am employed in what has ever been the object of my wiſhes, why do I ſeem to decline it? To which I anſwer, that nothing in this world could afford me greater ſatisfaction, and that I eſteem it a greater emolument than if his Holineſs had conferred on me all the lucrative benefices with which he has gratified the ſacred College ſince he ſat in the pontifical throne: and my reaſon for being thus affected is, as I have declared above, that the utmoſt of my ambition and deſire

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is, to ſerve ſuch a Patron, and in ſuch a cauſe. This ſatisfaction daily increaſes, as his Holineſs is pleaſed to preſs this affair on me, from motives truly worthy himſelf, the honour of the Almighty, and the good of a great people.

"I would not, however, have your Lordſhip imagine, that, having ſome experience of theſe affairs, I am ignorant on what a tempeſtuous ſea I embark, when I undertake the embaſſy to *England*; and that the riſks I am to run, and the hardſhips I muſt undergo to guide the veſſel into the haven, are much greater than thoſe I have hitherto encountered with. But theſe neither terrify, or give me a ſingle wiſh of the quiet and ſafe ſtation I have left; and the whole purport of what I wrote to my agent at *Rome*, was, to give his Holineſs to underſtand, that if, on account of the exigences of the times, any other Miniſter ſhould be eſteemed better qualified to treat with the intereſted parties, he would not pay the leaſt regard to my perſon, but employ one who would give him greater ſatisfaction, and more advance the common cauſe. This was the ſum of my letters, and of what I ſignified to his Holineſs by my Auditor *Ormanet* *." This letter, as well as the former, being written in *Italian*, they both partake of the exuberance of ſtyle of that language, which is very different from the conciſeneſs of our own.

8th *May*, 1554.

The Emperor, in the mean time, in order to make his pretexts for delaying the LEGATE's departure more plauſible, would ſee the powers he was inveſted with, in regard to the affairs of *England*, and ſend them over to be examined by that court. This, he knew, would take up a conſiderable time; and the Queen, who had been prevailed on to look on the delays which were hither-

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4ta, pag. 133.

to put to the LEGATE's arrival, as a meaſure which the ſituation of her affairs required, was now, likewiſe, inſtructed to object to the powers conferred on him, as inſufficient to bring about the wiſhed-for reconciliation.

The Pope, immediately on *Edward*'s death, on a ſuppoſition that *Mary* would deſire CARDINAL POLE's preſence to rectify the diſorders which were introduced in her father's and brother's reigns, had, as has been related, appointed him LEGATE to the Queen and the *Engliſh* nation, and had given him inſtructions, and very ample powers, with which it is neceſſary the Reader ſhould be informed, as they are intimately connected with the following part of this Hiſtory, and are contained under theſe heads.

" The Pope begins by expreſſing his joy on the happy turn which affairs had taken in *England*, which might give a well-grounded hope of that flouriſhing kingdom returning to its former ſtate, and becoming, once more, a part of CHRIST's fold, after having been ſeparated from it in the two laſt reigns. This, he ſays, is, by way of excellence, the work of God's right hand, and to be celebrated by the joy and acclamation of every well-diſpoſed perſon. That he offers up his thankſgiving to the Almighty for having reſtored a paternal crown to a Princeſs, as a reward of her ſteady adherence to religion, and her conſtancy under the ſharpeſt trials: and whereas this event had been accompliſhed when human means ſeemed leaſt to promiſe it, his confidence was raiſed, that the mercy would be extended to the whole body of the people. He congratulates, likewiſe, the *Engliſh* Catholics, who had continued ſtedfaſt to the ancient worſhip, on their own perſeverance, and the ſatisfaction they muſt feel on the proſpect of ſeeing their countrymen return to it. He ob-

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ſerves, that *England* had a peculiar right to his care and attention, having formerly received the faith by the miniſtry of perſons ſent thither from the See he governed; which made him deſirous to comfort thoſe alſo who had departed from thoſe principles, and to reſtore them to the rectitude from which they were fallen."

As the exigences of the nation were various, the commiſſion was very ample, and ſuch as became his Vicegerent, whoſe proper character is, *to ſeek what was loſt, to bind up what was broken, and to gather together what had been diſperſed in the dark and ſtormy day*, the LEGATE was impowered to extend this indulgence to almoſt every weakneſs and depravity of human nature, of which the miſery of thoſe times afforded but too many inſtances; and which ſtood in need of a great deal of knowledge in preſcribing the remedies, and of a charity and zeal equal to his in applying them. The ſame latitude was extended to perſons of what degree and profeſſion ſoever, with reſpect to cenſures and penalties incurred by hereſy, and thoſe crimes with which it is uſually attended, as ſacrilege, perjury, forbidden marriages, ſimony, and the like.

Nor was this lenity only uſed as to the conſcientious part, but alſo as to all civil purſuits on account of the ſaid miſdemeanors; and the delinquents, at the LEGATE's pleaſure, were to be reſtored to all the ſpiritual and temporal advantages they enjoyed before their tranſgreſſions. He might, likewiſe, exempt them from any public abjuration of their errors, and from all other penalties which the church diſcipline exacts in ſuch caſes: the only condition required, was a ſincere return to the true faith, an unfeigned ſorrow and confeſſion of their ſins, accompanied with abſolution, and the performance of ſuch penance as a diſcreet

diſcreet and ghoſtly Father ſhould enjoin. The eccleſiaſtical precepts of faſts and abſtinence were left to the LEGATE's regulation, who might diſpenſe with them as to perſons and places, as he judged expedient. SECT. VIII.

Several, both of the ſecular and regular clergy, had entered on a marriage ſtate, which, as has been ſaid above, the example of the Apoſtles, the ancient uſe of the whole weſtern church, the councils and canons, had made unlawful to the former; and, beſides the obligation ariſing from theſe heads, the moſt ſolemn engagements had rendered utterly inconſiſtent with the profeſſion of the latter. The following expedient, therefore, was preſcribed to redreſs a diſorder, which the licentiouſneſs of the laſt reign had added to thoſe of the preceding. They were commanded to renounce theſe contracts, which were no better than a licenſed concubinage; and, on that ſingle condition, were permitted to enjoy, at the LEGATE's diſcretion, all the rights they had forfeited by their incontinence.

This condeſcenſion was ſtill more extenſive in behalf of ſuch of the ſecular clergy as ſtood in need of it. The Pope ſuppoſes the caſe of ſome of theſe unfortunate offenders might be ſo peculiar, as to make it adviſable to allow them to continue as they were; and the LEGATE is authorized to grant them a diſpenſation to make good their engagements, provided the ſurvivor of the contracting parties be rendered incapable ever to marry again. But as it would have been the higheſt indecency, and given the moſt juſt offence, if ſuch perſons had enjoyed the revenues of the church, or were promoted to her dignities; and much more, were they to perform any prieſtly function, and miniſter at the altar, they are deprived of the former, and utterly ſecluded from the latter. The

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diſpoſition of all eccleſiaſtical and pious foundations, under whatever title, and to whomſoever belonging, was left to the LEGATE to regulate, as he ſhould judge moſt conducive to the honour of God, and the ſpiritual welfare of the kingdom. He was impowered to agree and tranſact, as he ſhould judge convenient, with the poſſeſſors of church goods: to diſcharge them for the profits they had unjuſtly received, and for the moveable goods they had conſumed. Whether reſtitution of the immoveable was to be made or not, was alſo left to his determination; and he was authorized to make the owners eaſy as to all ſuch matters. Whatever profit aroſe from theſe tranſactions was to be applied to the churches, which had ſuffered; to hoſpitals and ſchools, and ſuch like purpoſes.

As ſo great a multiplicity of buſineſs could not be diſpatched by one perſon, the LEGATE was enabled to commit any part of it, ſome few clauſes excepted, to ſuch judicious and pious perſons as he ſhould chooſe for that purpoſe; nor was an appeal of any kind to take place or hinder the execution of what he had decreed. Laſtly, the Pope confirms the juriſdiction he conferred on him; and moreover adds, that it is his intention he ſhould act, on all occaſions, with the ſame plenitude of power which himſelf held from JESUS CHRIST, and promiſes to ratify whatever ſhall be ſo enacted *.

The LEGATE was afterwards, by an extenſion of theſe privileges, commiſſioned to exert theſe powers whilſt he was out of the kingdom; to confirm Biſhops who had been nominated by the ſecular authority, and were fallen into hereſy during the ſchiſm of the two laſt reigns, on renouncing

* Printed at *London*, 1685, and may be ſeen at length in *Wilkins*'s Conc. *Mag. Brit.* vol. 4th, page 91.

their

their errors: and to provide, on any vacancy, the metropolitan and cathedral churches of the realm, with ſuch perſons as ſhould be recommended to him by the Queen, according to the cuſtoms of the realm *. SECT. VIII.

This ſalutary and benevolent commiſſion was ſet forth in four different patents, which bear the ſame date; the laſt of them is ſigned by the nephew of the celebrated *Sadolet*, who had ſucceeded his uncle in the Biſhopric of *Carpentras* †. In the three others, which are in form of credentials, the Pope informs the LEGATE, "that having deliberated with the Cardinals on the arduous and delicate negotiation of recalling his country to the faith of its forefathers, it had been unanimouſly agreed to appoint him Legate to the Queen and kingdom; and that the preference given to him, on this occaſion, was owing to the natural love he muſt be ſuppoſed to bear his own country, to his knowledge of the language, manners, and temper of the people; to his royal extraction, his authority and influence; to his ſingular ſkill in the management of buſineſs; to his *Aug.* 5th, 1553.

* Original book of diſpatches, M. S. in the *Engliſh* college of *Doway*, produced by Mr. *Dod*, Church Hiſt. vol. 1. page 545, et ſeq. in which work there are many valuable documents relating to the eccleſiaſtical affairs of this nation.

† Biſhop *Burnet* has likewiſe given at length the bull, in which the above-mentioned articles are contained; Hiſt. of the Reform. part 3d, page 215 of the collection of records. He has likewiſe exhibited, with candour, the Papal decrees by which the LEGATE's powers are extended, and the church poſſeſſions ſecured, in the moſt ample and unexceptionable form, to thoſe who then enjoyed them, ibid. p. 221, 222. And he has publiſhed, with the ſame good faith, *Ormanet*'s and *Granvelle*'s letters, and one of CARDINAL POLE to the Pope, and ſome others, ibid. p. 226, et ſeq. which, though very neceſſary for that part of the CARDINAL's hiſtory, are omitted in *Quirini*'s collection; and he has informed his Readers by what means they came into his hands. Hiſt. of the Reform. part 3, b. 5, p. 230.

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eloquence, and, above all other conſiderations, to his love of our God, and Lord JESUS CHRIST, and of his holy Catholic church. That as the LEGATE had already given proof of theſe, and all other virtues wherewith the bountiful hand of Providence had adorned his perſon, his Holineſs had appointed him to employ them all in bringing back to the paths of righteouſneſs thoſe who had ſtrayed from them, in a manner worthy his piety towards God, his reſpect to the holy See, his affection for the common cauſe of Chriſtianity, and his great parts and integrity: and that this wiſhed-for ſucceſs was firſt to be expected from a propitious God; and, in the next place, from the labours, the prudence, and virtues of the LEGATE, and the piety and wiſdom of the Queen. It may be truly aſſerted, if ever patents were a faithful repreſentation of the bearer, theſe were of CARDINAL POLE; and not more the credentials of an ambaſſador, than the certificate of a private character †.

Theſe powers, ample as they were, for the reaſons I have mentioned, were objected to by the Emperor; and *Ormanet*, the LEGATE's auditor, was ſent to *Rome*, in order to have them enlarged, whilſt the LEGATE, in the mean time, took up his reſidence at *Delingen-Abbey*, near *Bruſſels*. Here he had the news of *Philip*'s arrival in *England*, and his marriage with the Queen. The Prince came to *Southampton* on the 20th of *July*, and was met by her Majeſty at *Wincheſter*, where the nuptials were celebrated, in the cathedral, with great pomp, and the ceremony performed by *Gardiner*, Biſhop of the dioceſe, on the 25th. *Philip* was in the twenty-ſeventh year of his age, and the Queen in the thirty-eighth.

† Ex *R. Poli*, fol. 4, b; tranſcribed by *Wilkins*, Conc. *Mag. Brit.* vol. 4, pag. 87.

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The qualities of this Prince formed a character, to which it was impoſſible the temper of the *Engliſh* ſhould ever be reconciled: and, that this may not appear a random aſſertion, I ſhall draw the out-lines, from which the whole portrait may be collected. The Reader, at the ſame time, may not be diſpleaſed to reflect on the ſtrange and unaccountable ſteps by which this Prince has attained to the reputation of wiſdom, and great ſkill in that ſcience which becomes a throne. Beſides other arguments of this ſuperiority, two volumes have been publiſhed of his Aphoriſms; and there is ſcarce any epithet to denote uncommon ſagacity which has not been affixed to his name: even appearances have not been wanting to make him paſs for a good man, no leſs than a great Prince.

*Philip* had a diſtant and reſerved carriage, which was the effect of conſtitution and pride, and rendered him very unfit to govern a brave and generous people. Though the marriage treaty between him and the Queen had been carrying on almoſt a year, and was concluded ſome months before he came to *England*, he never once wrote to her. He knew nothing of our language, and gave himſelf little trouble to be acquainted with our manners. When amongſt us he retained the *Spaniſh* dreſs, which gave his perſon, which though low was ſtiff and ſtately, a ſtill more foreign air, and made him appear to greater diſadvantage. This occaſioned the mob ſometimes to follow him in the ſtreets, and give their opinion of him with a freedom which is peculiar to themſelves. The *Flemings* had obſerved and blamed this inbred arrogance, when he was only Prince of *Spain*; and nothing contributed more to alienate the affections of a people, whoſe diſpoſitions bear a great reſemblance to our own. His wretched policy loſt *Holland*, and drove the other provinces of the *Netherlands*

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*therlands* into the worſt extremities; and a jealous and ſuſpicious temper cauſed him to diſcard thoſe whom his father had employed, and remove the mild and wiſe governors, who had the love and confidence of the people, and appoint others in their ſtead, whoſe harſh and cruel proceedings might be more ſuited to his own. His ſon had been tried and put to death in the dark receſſes of a priſon; and it is a problem if his natural brother, the moſt gallant and amiable Prince of the age, did not die by poiſon adminiſtred by his orders: to ſay nothing of the equivocal manner in which his third wife, *Elizabeth* of *France*, left the world; and his delay in the very firſt remittance of a ſmall penſion, which his father *Charles* V. had reſerved out of the vaſt dominions he reſigned to him. A black melancholy, to which he was ſubject, was increaſed by a ravenous appetite, and groſs meats. Though the conqueſt of *New Spain* had cauſed a tide of wealth to flow into the old, from a want of knowledge to put it to uſeful purpoſes, it only furniſhed him with means to trouble his neighbours, and graſp at foreign conqueſts, when he had already ſo much more than he knew how to govern. With all the farce of profound penetration, and what the fools of the world call deep policy, he ever wanted the plain and ſimple, and therefore the true principles of government. He introduced into the *Spaniſh* councils that trifling ceremonial, and thoſe forms in which every department is ſo intrenched as to be inacceſſible to diſpatch; and theſe gloomy and pedantic arts, by which ſhew and appearances are kept up, whilſt real ſtrength is deſtroyed, have ever ſince continued to damp the ſpirit of a nation naturally brave, and to thin it of inhabitants. The ſame management became hereditary in his family, and his ſucceſſor, by one ſenſeleſs and inhuman edict, drove

Don *John* of *Auſtria*.

*Margaret* of *Parma*.

Don *John*.

*Philip* III.

drove out of *Spain* a million of people: and, to come to proofs which our own times afford, whilſt the formalities of the laſt war were adjuſting at *Madrid*, our countrymen failed, fought, and overcame. SECT. VIII.

The LEGATE had no ſooner heard the news of the Queen's marriage, but he congratulated the new King by a long letter, which was no leſs a piece of ſeaſonable advice, than a compliment on his nuptials, and the acquiſition of a new kingdom to his hereditary dominions. He obſerves the perſonal intereſt he had in this great event, as he was ſent Legate to her Majeſty and the realm, and likewiſe to *Philip*'s father, and to the King of *France*: that this conſideration makes his wiſhes the more ardent, that this alliance may be a means of reſtoring to his country the bleſſings of tranquillity, to which it had been ſo long a ſtranger, and bringing about a general peace, to the emolument of all *Europe* *. The LEGATE wrote likewiſe a letter of felicitation to the Emperor on his ſon's marriage, which he incloſed in one to the Biſhop of *Arras*, and deſired him to forward it to his Majeſty, who was then at *Valenciennes*. He lets the Biſhop know that his auditor was not returned from *Rome*, but that he expected him ſoon. He ſent the ſame intelligence, on the ſame day, to the Cardinal *de Monte*; and, before he had finiſhed the letter, *Ormanet* arrived with the enlargement of the Legantine Powers; "which, he ſays, was ſuch as he could have deſired from the Pope's goodneſs, in an affair of the higheſt concernment: that, therefore, he intreated the Cardinal to make his moſt dutiful acknowledgments to his Holineſs, and ſhould, on the firſt opportunity, ſend him all the information he could deſire: that *Ormanet*'s arrival could never have been more ſeaſonable; and 29th *July*, 1554.

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4ta, pag. 158.

he

SECT. VIII. he had great hopes in an all-good and powerful Providence, that every thing would end to the Pope's ſatisfaction."

The Pope, in this enlargement of the LEGATE's commiſſion, enumerates the powers he had already conferred on him, in his embaſſy to *England*, and appointing him Legate by commiſſion, to the Emperor and the *French* King. Though the commiſſion, he ſays, was very extenſive, and he had authority to exert it in every thing which concerned the perſons and affairs of his country, whilſt he reſided in *Flanders*, yet the fallen ſtate of the nation occaſioned infinite and unthought of caſes to occur, which required the aſſiſtance of the holy See, to which no detail was ſufficient; and a further doubt had been raiſed, whether this authority could be exerciſed in the Iſlands, and other dominions ſubject to her Majeſty. To remove therefore all ambiguity, the Pope conferred on him full power to execute whatever he judged neceſſary to bring about the ſalutary end of the embaſſy to *England*, though it was not comprehended in his former patents: and as to the embaſſy to the two courts above mentioned, he had the full powers of Legate by commiſſion, in as ample form as they had been conferred on the two Cardinals, who were lately employed at the ſaid courts.

à latere.

26th *June*, 1554.

As what concerned the church revenues was a matter of the greateſt difficulty to be adjuſted to the rules of juſtice and religion, and ſeemed the main obſtacle to the nation's return to the ancient worſhip, the Pope had ordered a ſeparate decree relative to this affair, as follows. "He mentions to the LEGATE, that he had already authorized him to treat with the poſſeſſors of eccleſiaſtical revenues, as to the fruits they unjuſtly had received and conſumed, and to diſcharge them from any obligation

obligation of reſtitution ariſing from theſe heads. But as there was every day a greater proſpect of the bleſſing he ſo much wiſhed the nation, taking place, and nothing ſeemed more likely to remove the hindrance which yet obſtructed it, than the indulgence of the holy See towards thoſe who, in the confuſion of the late times, had taken poſſeſſion of church lands; he, on his part, ſhould be very unwilling that a ranſom, ſo dearly purchaſed as the ſalvation of the intereſted parties, ſhould be fruſtrated by any temporal conſiderations. He committed, therefore, the whole affair to the LEGATE, and inveſted him with the moſt ample power to agree and compound with the preſent owners; and to aſſure to them their poſſeſſions, on whatever title they held them; to exempt them from any duty of reſtitution; and to do every thing which was neceſſary to remove all ſcruples and make them eaſy. This only clauſe was added, that if any affair occurred ſo momentous as to make the deciſion of the holy See ſeem neceſſary, ſhe was to be conſulted, and her judgment waited for: but even whether this was to be done or not, was left to the LEGATE, and his ſentence was to determine all things *." SECT. VIII.

28th *June*, 1554.

Cardinal *de Monte* accompanied theſe decrees with a letter of great civilities, which *Ormanet* the auditor was to deliver to his Lord, with another from Cardinal *Moron*, in anſwer to thoſe of the LEGATE, of which large extracts have been already given. *Moron* lets him know, "that having informed the Pope of what he wrote, he had teſtified the higheſt approbation of the LEGATE's conduct, and cleared him of giving cauſe to the Emperor, or any one elſe, of the extravagant behaviour he

* Printed at *London*, 1554; and tranſcribed by *Wilkins*, Conc. *Mag. Brit.* vol. 4, p. 102.

complained

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complained of. As to recalling him, he perſiſted that it could not be done without great indignity to himſelf, diſhonour to the holy See, reproach to the Emperor, injury to the LEGATE, and prejudice to the affairs of *England*. That his Holineſs had often declared himſelf variouſly on the ſubject of church lands, before he came to a final reſolution; but that, at length, the bearer, *Ormanet*, was diſpatched with every conceſſion conformable to the exigences of affairs, and the LEGATE's deſires."

13th *July*, 1554.

The LEGATE had no ſooner received theſe diſpatches but he ſent the bearer to inform the Emperor, who was ſtill at *Valenciennes*, of their contents, and to urge his Majeſty's conſent to his ſetting out for *England*. *Ormanet*, immediately on his arrival, had audience of the Biſhop of *Arras*, of which he gives *Priuli* the following account: "That the Miniſter's anſwer to the commiſſion with which the LEGATE had charged him was, that no one could doubt of the Emperor having the affairs of religion at heart, as he had always promoted its intereſt, and often expoſed his life in its cauſe. That as to the ſeaſonableneſs of exerting his zeal in the preſent juncture, on which I had chiefly inſiſted, his Majeſty was of opinion it was proper to wait the turn which affairs took in *England*, from whence they had no news ſince the Prince's landing, but of the marriage. That it would be neceſſary to come to an explicit declaration on two heads; whether the diſpoſition of the church revenues was left to the LEGATE or to their Majeſties, and the method which his Lordſhip propoſed to obſerve in this diſpoſition. The Biſhop added, that he deſired to ſee a copy of the patents. My anſwer, ſays *Ormanet*, was, that as to the particulars of the commiſſion he thought he had ſaid enough in declaring to his Lordſhip, that

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that the LEGATE was intruſted with the whole; but as to the manner of proceeding in it, he could come to no reſolution till he was on the ſpot, as there were many things of which, as yet, it was impoſſible to frame a right notion. I inſiſted on the importance of the buſineſs, which required all the diſpatch the nature of things admitted; and that no opportunity could be fairer than the preſent, as the good humour, which the late coronation had occaſioned, would reconcile the minds of the people to what the LEGATE was to execute, and his Majeſty's ſon have the honour of being, in great meaſure, the inſtrument of ſuch a national bleſſing. On this head, the auditor ſays, he enlarged himſelf, as he ſhould inform the LEGATE on his return. The concluſion was, that *Granvelle* would inform his Imperial Majeſty of all that had paſſed between them; and that his own good offices ſhould not be wanting, which he owed both to the cauſe, and to his deference and eſteem for the LEGATE: that as they were to change quarters very ſuddenly, he could not then let me have his Majeſty's reſolution, but would ſend it to me at *Valenciennes*, and I need give myſelf no further trouble. I ſhall allow him a whole day to acquit himſelf of his promiſe; and on the following, if he fails to do it, ſhall return to ſolicit my diſmiſſion. I was willing, ſays he, to ſend this detail, that I might cauſe no uneaſineſs by ſtaying beyond the time appointed. He informs *Priuli*, that the Emperor was in ſo good a ſtate of health and ſpirits, as to review his troops every day on horſeback."

31ſt *July*, 1554.

Three days after the Biſhop of *Arras* diſmiſſed *Ormaneto* with the following letter to the LEGATE.

"I have received two letters from your Lordſhip, by the firſt of which you aſſure me of your ſatisfaction on the Prince's arrival in *England*, and his

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his marriage. The other, which was directed to his Imperial Majeſty, I delivered myſelf; and he ſignified how much he was pleaſed at this pledge of your Lordſhip's regard and affection. Your auditor, who is to be the bearer of this, is ſince arrived here, and has made a report to me of whatever you was pleaſed to communicate concerning your patents; of all which I have informed his Majeſty. His anſwer is, as your Lordſhip may underſtand more at large from the bearer, that he does not think it proper you ſhould ſet out for *England*, till he has conſulted their *Britannic* Majeſties on this head; and that, on the return of a courier who was diſpatched to day, he ſhall be able to take a final reſolution. That the Emperor, the King and Queen had but one common intereſt in view; and it could not be doubted but they would promote it, not only with a zeal which became them, but alſo with ſuch temper, as to be of ſervice to the cauſe, and not ruin it for ever."

*Bouchain*, 3d *Aug.* 1554.

The LEGATE, in his anſwer, lets *Granvelle* know how ſenſible he was of his Imperial Majeſty's goodneſs, who, in the midſt of the din of war, gave ſo ſerious an attention to the affairs of *Britain*. That, as to his ſetting out on his journey thither, he ſhould wait his pleaſure, and had never entertained a thought of taking any ſtep in the whole affair, but with his approbation. In the mean time, he ſhould beg of the divine goodneſs to give to the whole body of the people a ſenſe of this favourable incident, leſt the reproach of the Prophet, *the kite has known its ſeaſon, but my people hath not known the time of their viſitation*, ſhould be verified in them. That the piety of their Sovereigns gave him great hopes they would act in a manner worthy the expectation they had raiſed, eſpecially as they could not fail to be prompted and aſſiſted by the authority and prudence of his Imperial

Imperial Majesty. He ends by telling the Bishop, that having been informed from his auditor, that it would be a satisfaction to him to see a copy of his commission to dispose of the church lands, he had sent it, and desired to be informed when it was come to hand. That he was much obliged to him for the offers of his friendship, and the civilities he had shewn his auditor." Some time after, this Minister informed the LEGATE, "he had seen his patents, and joins in wishes for the success of an affair, which, as it regarded a common good, every one must have at heart." This detail may perhaps appear too minute; but the importance of the affair, in which the negotiation ended, caused me to be as circumstantial concerning every thing which related to it (if I may be allowed the comparison) as the poet in producing the bow, by which his hero was to be discovered, and the fate of the suitors decided. SECT. VIII. *Delingen*, 5th *Aug.* 1554. 11th *Aug.* *Odyss.* b. 21.

During this intercourse, *Philip*, who was now King of *England*, had sent over a person of the first quality of the Low Countries, to the Emperor his father. This nobleman was likewise charged with a letter of great respect, on the part of the King, to the LEGATE, to whom he was to notify his Majesty's marriage, and the letter was to be the bearer's credentials. The LEGATE acknowledged his sense of this mark of royal favour, by making an offer of the allegiance he now owed *Philip* as his Sovereign; and by the like expressions of respect, which are bestowed on Princes on such occasions. The letter is in *Latin*, and dated from *Delingen-Abbey*, near *Brussels*, where his residence was. *Soto*, *Philip*'s confessor, wrote likewise to him, in a manner agreeable to the post he was in, and to his own personal character; and the LEGATE in his reply tells him, he had sufficiently indicated The Count of *Horne*. 7th *Aug.*

SECT. VIII. his own way of thinking, in perſonating that of his Prince; and takes notice, that unleſs *Philip* really gave the preference to what concerned the worſhip of the Supreme Being, he would pervert the order of things; for unleſs this great affair held the firſt place, no other could be aſſigned to it *.

10th Oct. Soon after the time I am ſpeaking of, the Emperor came to *Bruſſels*, and had frequent conferences with the LEGATE and the Biſhop of *Arras*, on the ſituation of affairs in *England*, of which he gives the Pope the following particulars. That the Emperor and his Miniſter had often reſumed the argument which had been diſcuſſed in the letters that had paſſed between the latter, himſelf, and *Ormanet*; which the Reader has already ſeen, and of which the LEGATE gives his Holineſs the chief heads. Theſe, he ſays, though repreſented with great candour on his part, appeared not ſufficiently cleared up to his Majeſty and *Granvelle*; and in order to protract the affair, they inſiſted on further eclairciſſments. I replied, ſays the LEGATE, that, in an affair of this nature, the negotiation was not to be carried on as in the late treaty of peace, where neither party diſcovered their real intentions, but endeavoured to avail themſelves of the diſcovery they could make of thoſe of their adverſary; whereas in this treaty there was but one common cauſe, in which your Holineſs, the Emperor, and their *Britannic* Majeſties were equally intereſted: and, if I was allowed to have acceſs to my country, I ſhould ſatisfy the latter as to the

* Et ſanè ita eum prorſus facere oportet, qui collapſam religionem erigere atque inſtaurare cogitet; cui ſi primum locum non dederis, nullum dederis; ſed quam inſtaurare profitearis, dum ordinem pervertis, labefactes magis ac diruas. *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 4ta, p. 166.

extent

extent of the commiſſion I had from your Holi- SECT. VIII.
neſs to remove all obſtacles to a reconciliation; but if any difficulty remained, their Majeſties were free to propoſe it. That the impediments in general were of two kinds; the firſt regarded the *Doctrine*, in which no abatement could be made, ſince the only remedy to evils introduced by error, was the acknowledgment of the contrary truths. The other related to church revenues, the poſſeſſors of which, from an apprehenſion of the ſeverity of her laws, were afraid to return to her obedience; and to this, I ſaid, your Holineſs was willing to extend indulgence as far as the caſe required. The LEGATE then gives a ſummary relation of theſe conceſſions, with which, ſays he, the Emperor was highly ſatisfied; but added, that this article ſhould be well conſidered, as he knew, from the experience he had in *Germany*, that this would be the capital objection of many: for, as to tenets, they gave themſelves little trouble about them, being equally indifferent to all. The Emperor made other objections, which, the LEGATE ſays, ſeemed only ſtarted to put off his journey; to which he anſwered; that the Parliament being ſhortly to be ſummoned, it was of the utmoſt im- 12th *Nov.* portance it ſhould not break up without completing the great work now in hand. That otherwiſe it would give general offence, and be a notable detriment to the cauſe. That the Queen having entered on the marriage ſtate, with a view to facilitate this undertaking, and Providence having allotted her a huſband who might ſecond her good intentions, if an affair, which ought to be the principle on which their royal conduct ſhould turn, was put off any longer, they would be inexcuſable both before God and man. The Emperor replied, that great allowances were to be made to the unfavourable diſpoſitions of thoſe

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whom this affair concerned, to their averſion to the very name of obedience to the church, to a ſcarlet hat, and a religious habit: that his ſon had been adviſed to cauſe the religious men he brought with him from *Spain* to change their dreſs; tho' he had not done it, nor did it become him to do ſo. To this he added the dangerous conſequences of popular tumults, and the bad offices which their foreign enemies, meaning the *French*, would not fail to do them. I replied, ſays the LEGATE, that if their Majeſties were to wait till every imaginary difficulty was removed, there would never be an end of delays, ſince the intereſted parties deſired nothing more than that things ſhould go on in the preſent track, and they allowed to poſſeſs and enjoy what they held. The concluſion, ſays he, was to expect the return of a Secretary, who was to come in a few days from *England*; and the LEGATE confer in the mean time, with the Biſhop of *Arras* on what had been the ſubject of this letter *."

13th Oct. 1554.

Whilſt this negotiation was going forward, envy, which, as the ſhadow follows the ſubſtance, attends eminent merit, endeavoured, by every low and ungenerous method, to hinder the effects of the LEGATE's zeal, and keep him at a diſtance. All the ill ſervices, which malice and jealouſy could ſuggeſt, were employed at the courts of *Rome*, *Bruſſels* and *England*, to ſet him aſide, and repreſent him as unfit for the commiſſion he was charged with. Nor was he either ignorant or unattentive to what paſſed, but ſaid to his friends, he was much in the ſame caſe with a perſon, who, by the waving of the graſs, perceives that a ſnake is lurking under it, though he cannot exactly determine

* *Burnet*, part 3, b. 5. Col. of Records, page 230.

termine the ſpot†. But a confidence in Almighty God, and a reſolution not to be wanting to himſelf, and to make uſe of ſuch meaſures as prudence ſuggeſts, and Providence furniſhes, ſupported him in theſe ſtraits: at the ſame time he wrote to *Philip* the obligation he lay under of no longer refuſing him the entrance of his kingdom, and putting an obſtacle to the commiſſion he came to execute. SECT. VIII.

"It is now, Sir, ſays he, a year ſince I preſented myſelf at your palace gates, without having obtained admittance. If your Majeſty aſks, as it is uſual of thoſe who preſent themſelves in this manner, who it is? I ſhall content myſelf with making this anſwer; that it is he, who, that he might prevent the ſame palace from being ſhut to her, with whom you now enjoy it in common, has ſuffered himſelf to be deprived of his home and country, and undergone a baniſhment of twenty years. Was I to allege no other reaſon for being recalled and admitted to your preſence, this alone muſt appear ſufficient: but I overlook whatever I may claim in my own name, whatever I have a right to as a private perſon, and only deſire that a due regard may be had to my public character *." 21ſt *Sept.* 1554. He adds many reaſons, which the goodneſs of his heart and his zeal for the public good ſuggeſted, for not putting off to a more diſtant time a work, which he thought ſhould have been already entered on; and if it were neglected, would involve the King and Queen in much guilt, and the conſequences of it. This letter is long, and conſiſts chiefly of allegory, and moral alluſions to ſome hiſtorical paſſages of Scripture, which gave a

† Vita *Poli*, fol. 25, à tergo.
* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4ta, pag. 162.

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handle to a writer, who, on the whole, is very fair to CARDINAL POLE's character, to ſay it is more like the flouriſh of a rhetorician, than the ſolemn expoſtulation of a great man on ſuch an occaſion. At the ſame time he acknowledges, that this manner of writing had been practiſed early, and long uſed by eminent men, and that ſuch precedents might have warranted him to copy it. He might have carried up the liſt very high, and cited one whom *Longinus* quotes as a pattern of eloquence.

*Burnet's Hiſtory of the Refor. part 3, p. 236.*

*St. Paul.*

*Philip*, on the receipt of this letter, ſent *Renardi*, who was the Emperor's Ambaſſador at the *Engliſh* court, to *Bruſſels*, to inform the LEGATE of what had been already done in the affair of religion, what omitted, and for what reaſons, and of every particular which had any connection with it; to lay before him the preſent ſituation of things, and adviſe with him of the means which ſeemed moſt expedient to bring them to a happy concluſion. The LEGATE, in his anſwer, of which the ſame Ambaſſador was to be the bearer, ſays, he had informed his Majeſty of every article on which he deſired his opinion, and therefore ſhould not trouble him any further, but referred him to his Excellence for all particulars *.

27th Oct.

Almoſt at the ſame time the Queen's Ambaſſador at the court of *Bruſſels* wrote to her the following letter. "That CARDINAL POLE was come into thoſe parts on two errands; one to negotiate a peace between the Emperor and the *French* King; the other, to bring about a reconciliation of his country with the Catholic church: but perceiving neither of them to take effect, he began to loſe all comfort. That, as to the firſt, he quite gave it

*Maſon.*

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4ta, pag. 168.

up;

up; and if he did not ſpeedily perceive ſome likelihood of ſucceeding in the other, he ſhould be weary of ſpending his time to no purpoſe, and talked of returning to *Italy*. That, ſhould this happen, he indeed would have the diſpleaſure of being deprived of his country; but the realm, in its turn, would loſe a perſon who, for his wiſdom, learning, and eminent virtue, was ſought and honoured by every one who had the happineſs of his acquaintance. That his converſation was much above that of ordinary men, and adorned with ſuch qualities, that he wiſhed the man, who liked him the leaſt in the kingdom, was to converſe with him but one half hour; that it muſt be a ſtony heart which he did not ſoften. And, to conclude, ſhould he leave thoſe parts without an opportunity of letting her Majeſty's ſubjects make any eſſay of his good qualities, he, the Ambaſſador, muſt think the ſtory of the Goſpel in ſome ſenſe verified in the LEGATE's perſon, where the inhabitants of *Geraza*, on a fond and groundleſs fear, are related to have deſired our Redeemer, who offered his preſence to them, to depart from their country." SECT. VIII.

*Bruſſels*, 5th *Oct.*

So many cogent motives, founded on religion and reaſon, at length took place of what is called politics, and the CARDINAL's return was reſolved: and that it might be attended with every circumſtance which could do honour to this illuſtrious exile; and, in the firſt place, that his repeal might be an act of juſtice, not of grace, the cauſe of the attainder was rejudged, and the diſgrace dignified. The Parliament, as has been ſaid, was ſummoned on the 12th of *November*, and the firſt bill brought before the Lords was the reverſion of the attainder, which went through the Houſe in two days. It was then ſent down to the Commons, who read

17th *Nov.* 19th.

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read it thrice in one day, and ſent it up. The bill being to paſs before the CARDINAL could come to *England*, a motion was made in the lower Houſe, whether this could be done without making a Seſſion, which muſt cauſe a prorogation? and it being reſolved in the affirmative, the King and
22d *Nov.* Queen came to the Houſe and paſſed it. The bill ſet forth, that the only reaſon of the attainder was the CARDINAL's refuſal to conſent to the unlawful divorce of the Queen's father and mother, and that their Majeſties, and both Houſes of Parliament, in conſideration of his conſcientious behaviour in this affair, and his many excellent qualities, repealed the attainder, and reſtored him to all the rights which his uprightneſs alone had cauſed him to forfeit. The impreſſion of the Great Seal which was put to this Act was, for greater diſtinction, taken off in gold.

Every thing being now agreed on for the LEGATE's reception in *England*, the Lords *Paget* and *Haſtings*, and a train of forty gentlemen, were appointed to go to *Bruſſels*, to invite him to his native country. They were both of the Privy Council, and the latter maſter of the horſe, and married to *Catharine*, daughter of Lord *Montague*, the CARDINAL's eldeſt brother, who was put to death by *Henry* VIII. On their arrival, they acquainted the Queen of the ſatisfaction the Emperor had ſignified at the information they had given him of the ſtate of the nation, and of what concerned herſelf, *at which he rouſed himſelf with a merry chere*, and diſcourſed to them at large on the manifold advantages which were likely to attend this turn of affairs. After this account of the audience of the Emperor, they inform the Queen of their waiting on the CARDINAL, of the joy with which he received them, and the gratitude and reſpect

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he expreſſed for the Queen. "His virtues, ſay they, cannot be ſufficiently admired; and, in particular, his moderation, and the command he has of himſelf, which make him ready not only to lay aſide the character of LEGATE, and come to *England* as a private Cardinal and Ambaſſador to her Majeſty, but agree to any other meaſures, which may be for the public emolument; and, as to what concerned the abbey lands, all things ſhould be adjuſted ſo as to give general contentment." They conclude, by informing her Majeſty, that the CARDINAL's weak ſtate of health did not permit him to take long journeys; and, moreover, that regard was to be had to the dignity of his perſon: that on the morrow they ſhould lie at *Dendermond*; *Thurſday*, at *Ghent*; *Friday*, at *Bruges*; *Saturday*, at *Nieuport*; *Sunday*, at *Dunkirk*; *Monday*, at *Calais*; that no reſpect and attendance ſhould be wanting on their part, as it was their duty to behave in this manner, and becauſe the CARDINAL's merit made it their inclination *.

*Bruſſels*, 13th *Nov.* 1554.

Several foreigners, who were diſtinguiſhed for their abilities in public affairs or literature, attended the LEGATE to his country; among whom, beſides his chief intimate *Priuli*, were his Secretary *Floribellus*, who had been ſo juſtly celebrated for the eaſe and elegance of his *Latin* ſtyle; *Stella*, and *Rollus*: and though the former was much advanced in years, and the other's health very infirm, and the LEGATE had uſed every endeavour to prevail on them not to hazard ſo long and difficult a journey, eſpecially in the winter, the reſpect and affection they bore him, on account of a long

* Paper Office; copied by Biſhop *Burnet*, Hiſt. of the Reformat. part 3, b. 5. Collect. of Rec. p. 237.

acquaintance,

SECT. VIII.

acquaintance, and ſeveral friendly offices which had paſſed between them, made them both overlook whatever inconveniencies they might apprehend, either from their years or infirmities. And though *Stella* died on the road, his brother's ſon, a youth of exquiſite judgment and learning, ſucceeded to the place his uncle held in his patron's eſteem, and was very ſerviceable to him. It may be obſerved as a ſingular felicity which attended this great man, that of all thoſe who followed him out of *Italy*, and were in any degree of his eſteem, *Stella* was the only one he loſt in the future part of his life *.

The LEGATE had taken leave of the Emperor the night before the date of the letter I have laſt mentioned, and ſat out the following day, accompanied by a hundred and twenty horſe. From *Ghent* he wrote to the King, "to teſtify his ſenſe of the honour their Majeſties had done him, in writing to him in the moſt obliging manner, by two of their Privy Council, Lord *Paget*, knight of the garter, and Lord *Haſtings*, maſter of the horſe; who were moreover charged with verbal meſſages of the ſame gracious import, and appointed to conduct him in his journey to *England*: for which inſtances of goodneſs, he hoped, in a few days, to ſignify to them, in perſon, all the gratitude he then felt †."

*Ghent*, 16th *Nov.* 1554.

Being arrived at *Calais*, he was received, agreeably to the orders the Queen had given, with great magnificence, and found a royal yacht and ſix men of war in readineſs to wait on him to his country. Here an incident happened, which was remarked by every one there preſent, and in-

* Vita *Poli*, fol. 23.

† Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 4ta, pag. 173.

terpreted

terpreted as a declaration of heaven in his favour; and which, in whatever light it may now be looked on by the Reader, I muſt not omit. The wind, which for ſeveral days had been ſo contrary, as to make the paſſage to *England* impracticable, and ſeemed as if it would continue ſo, on the very night of the LEGATE's arrival, became on a ſudden fair, and, in a few hours, conveyed him and his retinue to *Dover* ‡. SECT. VIII. 20th *Nov.*

‡ Vita *Poli*, fol. 26.

SECT.

## SECT. IX.

*The* CARDINAL *reconciles the* Engliſh *Nation to the Church of* Rome: *Aſſures the Abbey Lands to the Lay Owners. Abſtract of an accurate Statute made by the Parliament on that Occaſion. On the Vacancy of the See of* Rome; *he is deſigned for the Papacy, by the Queen of* England *and the* French *Court: And is choſen Mediator between the Emperor and the* French *King, at the Congreſs of* Calais. *He calls a National Council, and publiſhes Conſtitutions for the Reformation of the* Engliſh *Church.*

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CARDINAL POLE was received at landing by the Lord *Montague*, his nephew by his eldeſt brother, whom *Henry* VIII. had put to death; by the Biſhop of *Ely*, and ſeveral of the nobility, among whom were ſome of his acquaintance and relations. In this company he ſat out for *London*, and was met on the road by a great concourſe of people, and had the ſame honours every where paid him as at his landing, where he had been treated as a perſon of the royal family, and one who came to reſtore the nation to a bleſſing, of which it had been ſo many years deprived. Being come to *Graveſend*, the Biſhop of *Durham*, and the Earl of *Shrewſbury*, who was one of the moſt conſiderable noblemen of the kingdom, complimented him on behalf

behalf of their Majeſties, and preſented him with the Act, by which, on the foregoing day, he was reſtored to blood, the attainder reverſed, by which he had been baniſhed, and declared a rebel and an enemy to his country, and he re-inſtated in all his honours and rights. That this proceeding might be attended with greater ſolemnity, and be more honourable to the perſon it concerned, the King and Queen, as has been ſaid, would, though contrary to cuſtom, be preſent when the Act paſſed, and the impreſſion of the great ſeal was taken off in gold. At *Graveſend* a royal barge was in readineſs to carry him to *London* by water; and it being notified to him on the part of their Majeſties, that it was their pleaſure he ſhould now appear in the public character of LEGATE, the barge carried at her head the ſilver croſs, which was raiſed in ſo conſpicuous a manner, as to be beheld by an infinite multitude of ſpectators, who covered both ſides of the *Thames*, while a great number of ſmaller barges accompanied him up the river, till he arrived at *Whitehall*, where the court then was. SECT. IX. 22d *Nov.* 1554.

The letters patent by which the CARDINAL is authorized to exerciſe his legantine juriſdiction, and which were preſented to him by the Biſhop of *Durham*, are to the following purpoſe: "Their Majeſties declare, that whereas it has pleaſed the Pontiff *Julius* III. to ſend their dear couſin REGINALD POLE with certain authorities, graces and juriſdictions, to be exerciſed in behalf of the ſubjects of *England*; the ſaid LEGATE had accepted the commiſſion on the beſt of purpoſes; and the exerciſe of it was highly beneficial to the realm: that, on this account, his arrival in that character was moſt acceptable to them, and it was their pleaſure he ſhould exerciſe the ſaid juriſdiction in its full extent; and they were well pleaſed their loving

SECT. IX.

loving ſubjects ſhould have recourſe to him according to the nature and quality of the grace they ſtood in need of, and as they might have done in the twentieth year of the late King *Henry* *."

10th *Nov.* 1554.

The King and Queen, who did not expect him ſo early, were at table when he came to land; but, as ſoon as his arrival was known, the Chancellor, and ſeveral of the Lords, went down to the water ſide to receive him: the King likewiſe came out to meet him before he reached the palace, and embraced him with great marks of affection. The Queen, with the Ladies of the court, received him at the head of the great ſtair-caſe, and publicly declared her joy on that occaſion to be equal to what ſhe had felt on aſcending the throne of her anceſtors. Having ſtaid ſome time in conference with their Majeſties, and preſented them his credentials, he was conducted to *Lambeth* by the Chancellor, the prime of the nobility, and the multitude which had met him on the road. The Queen had given orders that the palace, which was now vacated by Archbiſhop *Cranmer* lying under ſentence of death for treaſon, ſhould be richly furniſhed, and had appointed the LEGATE a houſhold, and an income ſuited to ſuch an expence. The third day after he went to court, and the King, who came out of the anti-chamber to meet him, delivered into his hand a packet of letters he had juſt then received. It was a diſpatch from *Rome*, and brought the LEGATE the moſt ample powers, in order to accompliſh the great work of the nation's reconciliation with the Catholic church; and the incident of its arriving at that critical juncture was interpreted as a declaration of heaven in favour of a cauſe which then engaged

* Ex *Reg. Poli*, fol. 66, and Conc. *Mag. Brit.* Vol. 4. pag. 109.

the

the attention of all *Europe*. The next day the King paid the LEGATE a viſit, and regulated every thing with him concerning this great work, which was opened in the following manner. SECT. IX.

On the morrow, the 28th of *November*, the LEGATE, as had been agreed on, came to the Houſe of Peers before the King and Queen, and the Chancellor informed the Lords and Commons, who were ſummoned to attend, that the CARDINAL was come a LEGATE from the holy See to their Majeſties and to the whole realm; and having already declared to the former the purpoſe of his embaſſy, he was about to make the ſame declaration to them as repreſentatives of the whole nation.

The LEGATE then roſe up and ſpoke to this purpoſe: Before he entered on the matter, he ſaid; "He had, for many years, been excluded not only from that aſſembly, but alſo from his country, by laws enacted perſonally againſt himſelf: that he returned their Majeſties and the Parliament his beſt acknowledgments for repealing thoſe laws, and ſhould ever be grateful for the good will they had ſhewn him on this occaſion; that this favour of theirs was the more welcome, as it now furniſhed him with an opportunity of repaying it in a matter of ſtill greater importance to his benefactors; that he had been reſtored by them to the place of his birth, and to a nobility which could boaſt no higher origin than the earth; but he was come to inſcribe them denizens of a heavenly country, and reinſtate them in that true and Chriſtian greatneſs which they had forfeited by renouncing a fealty, to which it had pleaſed Almighty God it ſhould be annexed. He then enumerated the evils they had been liable to ſince this defection; he inſiſted on the greatneſs of the benefit which was offered them, and on the peculiar at-

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tention the See of *Rome* had always ſhewn the *Engliſh* nation. He reminded them of their paſt errors, exhorted them to ſincere repentance, and to receive with a ſenſible and holy joy the reconciliation which he, as LEGATE to God's Vicegerent, was about to impart to them; and to that effect was inveſted with full power to receive them into the church, as they, by repealing the acts paſſed againſt himſelf, had opened his country to him. That to reap ſo great a bleſſing, it only remained that they ſhould repeal whatever they had enacted againſt the holy See, and thoſe laws by which they had cut themſelves off from the body of the faithful."

The diſcourſe, which was long, was heard very favourably, and with great ſilence and attention; ſeveral who were preſent, lifting up their eyes and hands, and ſignifying how deeply they were affected with it. When the LEGATE had ended, the Chancellor thanked him, in the name of their Majeſties and the Parliament, for the good offices he had done the nation; and ſaid, the Houſes would deliberate on what he had propoſed: and the LEGATE being withdrawn into an adjoining chamber, the Chancellor began a ſecond ſpeech from theſe words of *Moſes*, *The Lord ſhall raiſe up a Prophet to thee from amongſt thine own brethren*; and having repeated and confirmed the chief points on which the LEGATE had ſpoken, he acknowledged himſelf of the number of the delinquents; he ſet before them the greatneſs of the offered bleſſing; he exhorted them to riſe from their fallen ſtate, and diſpoſe themſelves to a reconciliation with the common Parent of All who are intitled to the promiſes of the Goſpel: and thus the buſineſs of the day concluded.

On the morrow the Parliament met again, and a return to the communion of the Catholic church

church being propoſed, it was agreed to with a general approbation. The following day, which was the feſtival of St. *Andrew* the Apoſtle, both Houſes being aſſembled, the King ſent the High Chamberlain, the Earl of *Arundel*, attended by ſix knights of the garter, and the ſame number of prelates, to accompany the LEGATE to the Houſe of Lords. He came attired in his robes, and with all the types of his legantine juriſdiction, and was received by their Majeſties with every demonſtration of reſpect; and the King being at the Queen's left hand, and the LEGATE at her right, though at a ſomewhat greater diſtance than the King, they were all three placed on ſeats raiſed on rich tapeſtry and under a very coſtly canopy. The Commons being ordered to attend, the Chancellor briefly recapitulated what had been ſaid and agreed on the day before, and aſked them if they then ratified it, and deſired to return to the unity of the church, and the obedience which was due to her chief paſtor? this propoſal being aſſented to by the acclamation of the whole aſſembly, he preſented to their Majeſties a petition on behalf of the members of both Houſes, as repreſentatives of the whole nation, ſetting forth their ſorrow for the former ſchiſm, and for whatever they had enacted againſt the See of *Rome*, and the Catholic religion; all which they now annulled, and beſeeched them, whom God had preſerved from any ſhare in the guilt, to obtain of the Lord LEGATE to pardon and reſtore them again, as true and living members, to that body from which they had ſeparated themſelves by their miſdeeds. SECT. IX.

The King and Queen having read the petition, returned it to the Chancellor, who read it audibly, ſo as to be heard by all. The whole aſſembly then roſe and went towards the LEGATE, who was got up to meet them; and the Queen, in her own and

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the King's name, petitioned him to grant the pardon and reconciliation ſued for. On this the LEGATE, when they had taken again their ſeats, cauſed whatever related to the powers with which he was inveſted to be read, and then ſet forth, in a pathetic diſcourſe, the thanks which were due to the divine goodneſs, for granting them the preſent opportunity of cancelling their paſt offences: "Providence, he ſaid, ſeemed to look on this iſland with a particular complacency, having firſt called us, at a very early period, from Paganiſm to the worſhip of the true God; and now, when we had ſeparated ourſelves from his ſheepfold, had been pleaſed to give us a ſenſe and ſorrow of our tranſgreſſions, preferably to any other people who had been engaged in the ſame unhappineſs. If their repentance, he added, was anſwerable to the importance of the occaſion, and the hainouſneſs of the fault, what joy muſt it cauſe to the Angels of heaven to be ſpectators of the converſion of ſo populous a kingdom, they who rejoice at the return to duty of a ſingle ſinner?"

He then roſe from his ſeat, and every one being on their knees except the King and Queen, who were ſtanding, he pronounced the general abſolution with a clear and diſtinct voice, and had ſcarcely repeated the names of the three divine perſons, with which it ends, but they cried out, Amen, Amen. During the abſolution, the Queen, and many others, ſhed tears of joy and piety; and it being now over, they all roſe up, and embraced one another, often repeating, *to day we are born again*. They then went to the royal chapel, and returned thanks to Almighty God, by the hymn which is ſung on all ſolemn occaſions; and this great work having been completed on St. *Andrew*'s day, the LEGATE afterwards procured a canon to be made, in the convocation of the Biſhops and

and Clergy, appointing this feſtival to be kept thenceforward with peculiar ſolemnity *. SECT. IX.

I cannot paſs over this memorable event without taking a review of ſome of thoſe cauſes which ſeem to have prepared ſo ſpeedy and univerſal a revolution; one of the chief of which appears to have been the ſhort diſtance of time, which was not much more than twenty years, ſince *England* had renounced the religion to which ſhe now returned, and which had been the national worſhip for above nine centuries. The Reader has ſeen, in the former part of this work, the motives which induced *Henry* VIII. to begin this change, and by what methods he enforced it on his ſubjects, and the fluctuating ſtate, both of principle and practice, during all *Edward*'s reign. To the facts which have been already advanced, I ſhall only add the authority of two witneſſes, who in this caſe are above all exception; one of whom aſſigns very natural reaſons for the little ſatisfaction which ſenſible and well diſpoſed minds could find in ſuch novelties; and the other ſets forth, in a very impartial light, ſome arguments, *which*, as he expreſſes himſelf, *may prevail on men of much reaſon and more piety*, to entertain a favourable opinion of the religion which the nation now embraced. The firſt acknowledges, "that the licentious and diſſolute life of many of the profeſſors of the Goſpel, and which was but too viſible in ſome of the more eminent among them; the open blemiſhes of ſome of the clergy, who promoted the reformation, contributed to alienate the people, to raiſe a general averſion, and to make the nation entertain as advantageous a notion of the religion they had quitted, as their prejudices had been ſtrong againſt it:

* Il retorno del Regno d'Inghilterra, &c. *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 5ta, p. 303. et ſeq. *Poli* vita, fol. 26. et ſeq.

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and to look upon all the innovations that had been made as ſo many inlets into all manner of vice and wickedneſs *."

" The members of the *Roman* Catholic communion, ſays the other author, whoſe authority I have pleaded, may ſay, that their religion was that of their forefathers, and had the actual poſſeſſion of mens minds before the oppoſite opinions had even a name; and having continued in it thro' ſuch a length of time, it would be objected to them with an ill grace, that this was the effect of invention or deſign; becauſe it was not likely that all ages ſhould have the ſame purpoſes, or that the ſame doctrine ſhould ſerve the different ends of ſeveral ages. This preſcription, moreover, reſts on theſe grounds; that truth is more ancient than falſhood; and that God would not, for ſo many ages, have forſaken his church and left her in error. To this antiquity of doctrine is annexed an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of their Biſhops from the Apoſtles, and particularly of their ſupreme Biſhop from St. *Peter*, whoſe perſonal prerogatives were ſo great, and the advantageous manner in which many eminent Prelates of other Sees have expreſſed themſelves with regard to the church of *Rome*. This prerogative includes the advantages of monarchy, and the conſtant benefits which are derived from that form of government. Nor does the multitude and variety of people, who are of that perſuaſion, their apparent conſent with elder ages, and their agreement with one another, form a leſs preſumption in their favour. The ſame concluſion, he ſays, muſt be inferred from the differences which have riſen amongſt their adverſaries, and from the caſualties which have happened to many of them: from the oblique and ſiniſter proceedings

* Biſhop *Burnet*'s Hiſtory of the Reformat. vol. 3. p. 217.

of

of ſome who have left their communion; from the appellation of heretic and ſchiſmatic, which they fix on all who diſſent from them. To theſe negative arguments he adds thoſe of a more poſitive kind; the beauty and ſplendor of the church of *Rome*, her ſolemn ſervice, the ſtatelineſs and magnificence of her hierarchy, and the name of *Catholic*, which ſhe claims as her own due, and to concern no other ſect of Chriſtianity. It has been their happineſs to be inſtrumental to the converſion of many nations. The world is witneſs to the piety and auſterity of their religious orders; to the ſingle life of their Prieſts and Biſhops; the ſeverity of their faſts and obſervances; to the great reputation of many of their Biſhops for faith and ſanctity, and the known holineſs of ſome of thoſe perſons, whoſe inſtitutes the religious orders follow *."

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As the breach of the nation with the Catholic church was begun and carried on in the two latter reigns, by renouncing the ſupremacy of the See of *Rome*, the acknowledgment of this article ſeems to have been the characteriſtic which diſtinguiſhed the return to the ancient faith in this. And tho' I am aware with what difficulty the proofs of the expediency, and much more of the neceſſity of ſuch a means will be admitted, yet a knowing and judicious reader might take juſt offence, ſhould I queſtion his deference for that which follows, or to the authority which inforces it. "It is well known, ſays the learned *Grotius*, ſpeaking of himſelf, that I have always wiſhed to ſee Chriſtians re-united in the ſame body; and I once thought this conjunction might be begun by an union of Proteſtants among themſelves. I have ſince perceived that this is impoſſible, not only

* Dr. *Jeremy Taylor* on the liberty of propheſying.

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becauſe the *Calviniſts* are averſe to all ſuch agreements; but becauſe Proteſtants are not aſſociated under any one form of government, and therefore cannot be united in one body, but muſt neceſſarily be ſeparated into other new ſects and diviſions. I therefore, and many others with me, plainly ſee that this concord of Proteſtants can never be effected, unleſs they are united to the *Roman* See, without which no common church government can take place: for which reaſon I wiſh that the ſeparation, which has been made, and the cauſes of it, may ceaſe. Now, amongſt theſe, the canonical Primacy of the Biſhop of *Rome* cannot, as *Melanchthon* himſelf confeſſes, be placed; for he judges that very Primacy neceſſary, in order to maintain and preſerve unity †."

The day after the reconciliation, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen waited on the LEGATE, and deſired him to honour the city with his preſence, in that character; and the firſt *Sunday* of *Advent* falling two days after, he went from *Lambeth* by water, and landed at St. *Paul*'s wharf, and being now entered the city, he was met by all orders of it; and from thence proceeded, in great ſtate, to the Cathedral, the croſs, the pillars and ſilver pole-axes being borne before him. High Maſs was celebrated, at which the King and Queen and

† *Grotius*' laſt reply to *Rivet*, written a ſhort time before his death.

If the Reader would ſee the judgment of other Proteſtant divines of our own country on this point, he may conſult Dr. *Field*'s preface to his book on the church. Dr. *Hammond*, in his treatiſe on hereſy, § 13. No. 2, 3. and his Comment. on 1 *Tim.* iii. 15. Dr. *Jackſon* on the Creed, b 2. chap. 4. page 165, and Dr. *Ferne*; who all ſeem to extort from their readers the ſame conceſſion on this article of the Catholic faith, which St. *Paul* drew from *Agrippa* with reſpect to the Chriſtian relinion in general, *Thou perſuadeſt me almoſt to be a Chriſtian*, Acts xxvi. 28.

the

the court were preſent. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* preached on theſe words of St. *Paul*, which are read in the leſſon of that day, *Brethren, it is now time for us to awake from ſleep*, Rom. xiii. He compared the ſtate they had been in, during the two laſt reigns, to that of men labouring under the illuſion of a dream, when reaſon is ſuſpended, and appetite takes its full range; in which circumſtances the indigent imagine they are wealthy, the wretched have an apprehenſion of pleaſure, and the infamous of honour: but when the trance is over, as the royal Prophet with great elegance repreſents their caſe, they find the whole to have been deception. He enumerated the errors into which they were fallen, the public and private calamities to which they had been ſubject, and the enormities they had committed. He inſiſted particularly on the injuſtice and cruelty which the LEGATE had ſuffered in his perſon, in the death of his neareſt relations, and the confiſcation of his fortunes. He informed them of what had paſſed a few days ago in parliament, and exhorted them to approve of it. He fancied he ſaw a great congruity in ſeveral incidents which marked out the particular time in which they were awakened to a ſenſe of their duty; the leaſt equivocal of which is, that it was brought about by the means of the LEGATE. He confeſſed the ſhare himſelf had in the national guilt, and requeſted of his hearers, that as they had been influenced by him, when he went aſtray, they would now follow him in his return to duty †."

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The cenſures incurred by the clergy, in the late diſorders, were of a peculiar kind from thoſe of the reſt of the realm; wherefore, on the *Thurſday*

† Excerpta per Archid. *Cantuar.* ex concione Epiſc. *Vinto.* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 5ta, pag. 293.

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following, the Biſhops, and others of that body, met in convocation, and, being on their knees, received pardon of all irregularities they had been liable to during theſe innovations.

In this manner the ſubſtance of this great revolution, with regard to all orders of the kingdom, was completed: but though the church poſſeſſions had been made over and ſecured by the papal authority, in very plain and ample terms, to the lay owners, as has been ſeen in the decrees already cited on that head, and there could be no grounds to ſuſpect the validity of the conveyance; yet the object was too great not to engage all the caution of the intereſted parties. Accordingly, in a ſeſſion of parliament which was held ſoon after, this whole affair was recapitulated with an accuracy, of which we have few examples; and ſo large a ſhare of the lands of *England* was adjudged to thoſe whoſe title as to right was very doubtful; and not only at their requeſt who were deprived of them, but with a diſintereſtedneſs which will ever do honour to their memory. The Reader may ſee the detail of it in our ſtatutes, where it is recorded in each particular *; but the ſubject of this hiſtory requires that I ſhould here give the chief heads of it.

The Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, begin the act "by acknowledging that many falſe and erroneous doctrines had been introduced ſince the 20th year of her Majeſty's father's reign, as well by the natural ſubjects of the realm as by foreigners, which had cauſed both the clergy and laity to ſwerve from the obedience of the Apoſtolic See, and leave the unity of Chriſt's church; and that this defection had continued till her Majeſty being raiſed by God, and placed on the throne

* Anno I. et II. *Phil.* et *Mar.* c. 8.

of

of her anceſtors, the Pope had ſent hither the moſt reverend father in God, CARDINAL POLE, his LEGATE, to recall the nation to that right way, from which they had ſo long ſtrayed. That, during this interval, they had been afflicted with many grievous calamities; but being at length, through God's goodneſs, ſenſible of their paſt errors, they had acknowledged them to the ſaid LEGATE, and been received by him into the unity and boſom of Chriſt's church. They had experienced this indulgence, they ſay, by virtue of their Majeſties ſuing in their behalf, and upon their own humble ſubmiſſion and promiſe to repeal ſuch ſtatutes as had been made againſt the See of *Rome* ſince the above-mentioned year." Here they inſert the ſeveral acts and clauſes made againſt the Pope's ſupremacy, and ſome articles relating to diſcipline, which are repealed and annulled. SECT. IX.

They then go on to declare, " that being thus admitted into the unity of the Catholic church, the obedience of the holy See, and the Pope governing the ſame, they were likewiſe deſirous that all occaſions of ſtrife, ſuſpicion, and trouble ſhould be removed. The Biſhoprics therefore, and other religious foundations, which they enumerate, and which had been erected ſince the ſchiſm, according to the laws of the realm, were in this view confirmed, marriages contracted within the degrees forbidden by the canons were ratified, and the offſpring declared legitimate; and judicial proceſſes made before the ordinaries, or on appeal before delegates, were declared to ſtand good in law.

The property of church lands and revenues is the next article on which the Lords and Commons enter; and they ſet forth, " that to avoid any further ſcruple which might ariſe on account of ſuch poſſeſſions, or of the ſuppreſſion of monaſteries,

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ries, and other religious foundations, which were come into the hands of divers perſons, either by gift, purchaſe or exchange, it had pleaſed their Majeſties to intercede with the LEGATE in favour of the actual poſſeſſors, and that the ſame moſt reverend father in God had declared, that all perſons, to whom a ſufficient conveyance, according to the common laws of the land, had been made of the ſaid lands and poſſeſſions, might, without any ſcruple of conſcience, enjoy them; and that they ſhould ſuffer no moleſtation on pretence of decrees of general councils, or of the canon law; and that they ſhould be clear from any danger of the church's cenſures."

Here they inſert the petition preſented to the King and Queen on this ſubject, by the Biſhops and Clergy of the province of *Canterbury*, which is to the following purpoſe: " that, although in virtue of their character, and the reſpective offices they filled, they were the natural guardians of the rights and poſſeſſions of the church, and therefore it might ſeem incumbent on them to endeavour to recover whatever had been loſt or ſcattered in the late ſchiſm; yet, after a mature deliberation on the whole affair, they ingenuouſly confeſs how difficult, and even impracticable ſuch a recovery would be, on account of the many intricacies in which theſe dealings have been involved; and ſhould ſuch an attempt be made, the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom would be diſturbed, and that unity with the Catholic church, which the piety and authority of their Majeſties had now eſtabliſhed, could hardly be advanced ſo as to gain its deſired end. Wherefore, as they preferred the public quiet to all private conſiderations, and the ſalvation of ſouls ranſomed by the blood of Chriſt, to all earthly goods, and did not ſeek their own profit, but the glory of their Redeemer, they gave

gave their aſſent to whatever ſhould be enacted in this affair, and beſought the Lord LEGATE not to be reſerved or difficult in ſuch diſpenſations." At the ſame time, not to be wanting to what they owed to their reſpective ſtations, "they humbly intreat their Majeſties, that they would cauſe that liberty and juriſdiction, without which they could not exerciſe their ſeveral functions, to be reſtored to them; and to provide for the neceſſities of the churches of their kingdom, particularly of the parochial, and others, to which the care of ſouls is annexed."

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At this place both Houſes turn again their diſcourſe to the King and Queen, to whom they addreſs themſelves through this long and accurate ſtatute, and rehearſe, at full length, the decree by which the LEGATE had granted theſe diſpenſations, and wherein is confirmed whatever had hitherto been declared by the act. The LEGATE particularly declares, that neither the poſſeſſors of the moveable or immoveable goods of the church ſhould ever be liable to any cenſure or eccleſiaſtical puniſhment for detaining and not reſtoring them: that by this decree all power was taken away of ever giving a different judgment in theſe affairs; and if any thing of this kind ſhould be attempted, it was, by the preſent act, declared to be of no effect." Notwithſtanding this ſentence, which was penned with the ſame latitude of indulgence as if it had been dictated by the intereſted parties, the LEGATE had obſerved; "that whereas the diviſion of Biſhoprics, and the foundation of cathedral churches, were of the number of thoſe greater cauſes which are reſerved to the Pope, recourſe was to be had to him, and a petition preſented, that he would be pleaſed to confirm or renew the diſpoſitions already made on theſe heads."

He

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He had moreover declared, "that though the diſpenſation extended indiſcriminately to the actual poſſeſſors of all moveable church goods, yet he had admoniſhed them to place before their eyes the ſeverity of God's judgments on *Belſhazzar* King of *Babylon*, for appropriating the ſacred veſſels to a profane uſe, though not he, but his father had taken them out of the temple of *Jeruſalem*; and that this example ſhould prevail on them to reſtore all ſuch veſſels to the churches to which they had formerly belonged, or to others. He had likewiſe exhorted all thoſe whom it might concern, and intreated them, through the bowels of mercy of our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST, that, from a regard to their own eternal lot, they would provide out of the church lands, ſuch eſpecially as had been ſet aſide for the maintenance of the parochial clergy, a competent ſubſiſtence for thoſe who exerciſed that charge, which might enable them to live creditably, according to their ſtate, and perform their functions, and ſupport the burden of their calling."

Having related this decree at full length, and in *Latin*, their Lordſhips and the Commons return their moſt dutiful thanks to their Majeſties, by whoſe means it was obtained; and then go on to enact, that all theſe diſpenſations ſhall be received into the body of the *Engliſh* laws, to be alledged and pleaded, either by the plaintiff or defendant, in all courts eccleſiaſtical and temporal: and whoever, by any proceſs obtained out of any eccleſiaſtical court, whether within or without the realm, ſhould moleſt any one on account of abbey or other church lands, is declared to incur the forfeitures contained in the act of *Præmunire*. But they make a proviſion, that it ſhall be lawful to ſue, at any competent court within the realm, for tithes, rights and duties that were to be raiſed on the

the ſaid poſſeſſions, in as ample a manner as before this ſtatute was made. SECT. IX.

" They further declare, that though the title of Supreme Head of the Church of *England* never was, nor could be lawfully attributed to any ſovereign governor of this realm, nor in any wiſe be lawfully claimed by them; yet that all letters patent, and other writings which had been iſſued out in that ſtyle, might be kept and pleaded. The papal diſpenſations alſo, and other decrees of the court of *Rome*, which had been made void in *Henry*'s reign, were to have their former force; and if it could be made to appear that they had been cancelled, they might be pleaded in as available a manner as if they were intire."

At the diſſolution of the monaſteries, ſeveral pariſh churches and chapels, which till then had been exempted from epiſcopal juriſdiction, and ſubjected to the Abbots of theſe houſes, were now, under colour of theſe exemptions, and by grants from the two laſt Kings, transferred to the government of laymen. " The Parliament, therefore, declares that all ſuch juriſdiction ſhall hereafter be exerciſed by ſpiritual perſons: for which proviſion this high court of judicature aſſigns the following reaſon, that lay patrons can no more enjoy a ſupremacy over particular churches, than the King may over the whole realm. A clauſe is added in favour of the two univerſities, and ſome other privileged places, and of ſuch temporal Lords and poſſeſſors as by ancient cuſtom had enjoyed the probat of their tenants or others wills."

The laſt articles of this celebrated ſtatute are truly becoming the religion and dignity of the *Britiſh* legiſlature; for having acknowledged, in a foregoing part of the act, the ſupremacy of the See of *Rome*, and that no ſuch claim could have been uſed by the Sovereigns of this realm; " they here

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here aſſert the independence and high prerogative of the imperial crown of *England*, againſt whatever may ſeem to derogate from it; and firſt they obſerve, that after the union of this noble realm to the body of Chriſt's church, it is to be truſted, that, by the abundance of God's grace and mercy, devotion will increaſe in the hearts of many of the *Britiſh* ſubjects, with a deſire to beſtow their worldly poſſeſſions for the reſuſcitating of alms, prayer, and the example of a good life in this realm, and to the intent that ſuch godly motions and purpoſes ſhould be advanced. They declare, therefore, that it ſhall be lawful to give, or bequeath by will, manors, lands, and other kinds of poſſeſſions, to any ſpiritual body politic or corporate within the kingdom, notwithſtanding the *Mortmain* acts; but this clauſe for giving liberty to amortize lands and tenements, was only to continue in force during the ſpace of twenty years."

Having in this manner made the neceſſary proviſion for what concerned religion, and the revival of piety, they conclude, as has been ſaid, by declaring that nothing in the preſent ſtatute, nor in the preambles to the ſeveral articles of it, ſhall be conſtrued to derogate from the preeminence of the *Britiſh* crown, which was to remain as in the twentieth year of her Majeſty's father's reign; and the Biſhop of *Rome* was reſtored to the authority and juriſdiction, which by reaſon of his ſupremacy he might at that time have exerciſed, without diminution or enlargement. The Biſhops, and other Ordinaries, are likewiſe reinſtated in the juriſdiction they had, in the ſame year, as to proceſs of ſuits, puniſhment of crimes, execution of the church's cenſures, and knowledge of cauſes belonging to any of theſe heads.

There is a remarkable order and propriety in the diviſion of the articles of this ſtatute, which leads

leads the Reader from one to another, with no leſs diſtinction than if he was to be brought acquainted with only a ſingle one of them, and each is enounced with an energy ſuitable to the ſubject matter. The ancient phraſe in which they are penned gives a gravity to the compoſition, beyond all the graces which our preſent language can boaſt; and our beſt writers will admire, in what was written above 200 years ago, thoſe manly beauties, which are ſo much ſuperior to all the poliſh of modern art. SECT. IX.

Theſe tranſactions are ſo honourable to the church of *Rome*, that no one will wonder the adverſaries of that communion, becauſe they could not deny the facts, ſhould either miſrepreſent them, or, like the poet, call off the reader's attention from the principal action to incidents which fancy forms round it. It has been objected from *Fra-Paulo*, that when the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors came to *Rome*, ſome ſhort time after the act I have cited was paſſed, *Paul* IV. ſucceſſor to *Marcellus*, who only filled the pontifical throne a few days after *Julius* III. ſignified to them his diſpleaſure that the church lands were not given back, and inſiſted on the neceſſity of a reſtitution, as ſuch diſpenſations were beyond the extent of his power. But, to ſay nothing of this author's want of good faith on ſo many other occaſions, the account he here gives is ſufficiently refuted by the Journal of the Houſe of Commons, which informs us, that, after other proceedings, a Bull of the Pope was read, which confirmed what the Lord CARDINAL had done concerning the aſſurance of abbey lands *:" and this final decree, by which theſe poſſeſſions are excepted from all future revocation, ſeems to have been granted by *Paul* IV. at Æn. l. 4. v. 165.

* Journal of the Houſe of Commons, *October* 21ſt, 1555.

the

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the requiſition of CARDINAL POLE; for he lets *Philip* know, he had written to have it ſent immediately, and expected the return of the meſſenger who was to bring it *. *Dugdale* is no leſs clear on this point, and produces a ſpecial decree of the ſame Pope, which confirms the lands held by Sir *William Petre* †: nor is there the leaſt trace of what *Fra-Paulo* aſſerts, either in the Journal of the Conſiſtories, which the Pope held on this occaſion ‡; or in his letter to the King and Queen, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter, and where every thing material to the buſineſs is ſet forth at length.

But though the Pontiff never annulled any of theſe grants, yet his auſtere temper, and the animoſity he had formerly conceived againſt the *Engliſh* CARDINAL, of which there will be occaſion to enter into a detail elſewhere, might have cauſed him to tell the Ambaſſadors he had behaved with too great facility, and given up too much, and without a ſuitable conſideration.

A further cavil has been frequently urged, alike deſtitute of truth and candour, that there was no real deſign of making over the church lands to the lay owners, but that the whole affair was a fraud, which ſtill left room for reſumption ‖. But the malignity

* De Bullâ autem, quâ hujus Regni bona eccleſiaſtica ab ejus ſanctitatis revocatione nominatim excipiantur, ſcripſimus, ut primo quoque tempore mittatur. Nunc mei Nuncii reditus expectatur, cui eam perferendam dare cogitabant. 16 *Septemb.* 1555. *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 5ta, pag. 42.

† Monaſ. vol. 3, fol. 207.

‡ See *Reg. Pole*'s letters, part 5th, and the following.

‖ A letter from Sir *William Coventry* to Dr. *Burnet*, printed with ſome other papers in 1685. This piece was anſwered with great judgment and ſolidity by *Nath. Johnſton*, M. D. a gentleman of the church of *England*, in a treatiſe intitled, *The aſſurance of abbey and other church lands to the poſſeſſors.* Dr. *Burnet* abets likewiſe the above-mentioned inſinuation, by a papal

malignity of ſuch an abuſe can only reflect diſ- SECT. honour on the authors of it, and has been ſuffi- IX. ciently refuted through the whole ſeries of this narrative. The plainneſs, likewiſe, and ſimplicity of *Becatelli*'s account, who was the LEGATE'S Secretary, is a no leſs advantageous argument in its favour. Having firſt commended his Lord's zeal in perſuading the Queen to give up the church lands which were inveſted in the Sovereign, and which, as by the expreſs declaration of the ſtatute I have quoted, ſhe was at full liberty to do, during twenty years, he adds; "it was judged adviſable, with the Pope's conſent, in order to avoid further diſturbances, that no inquiry ſhould be made concerning ſuch poſſeſſions, which were promiſcuouſly occupied over the nation, but to leave to each one's determination to act in this caſe as he thought fit *." This relation of the hiſtorian is greatly corroborated by the tenth article of the aſſembly of the clergy, which CARDINAL POLE convened the next year; whereby, tho' future alienations were prohibited, the grants already made by the authority of the holy See, are declared to be no longer ſubject to reſumption †.

papal decree concerning church lands in the kingdom of *Naples*; in which the affairs of *England* are no more concerned than the ſettlement of the *Britiſh* crown in the Pragmatic Sanction. *Append. to the Hiſt. of the Ref.* page 367. But every thing was an offenſive weapon in the Biſhop's hands, when the Catholic cauſe was to be annoyed, and he might have taken for his motto,

*Dolus an virtus quis in hoſte requirat?*

* Ac, ne qua turba excitaretur, placuit, conſentiente Pontifice, nil de reliquis bonis quæri, quæ paſſim multi poſſidebant; ſed liberum omnibus relinqui id agere quod quiſque vellet. *Poli* vita, fol. 32. à tergo.

† Exceptis tamen ſemper iis, quæ circa bona eccleſiaſtica, antè ab eccleſiâ ablata, jam authoritate Apoſtolicâ conſtituta ſunt. Conc. *Mag. Brit.* t. 4, p. 125.

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The ſame is atteſted by *Camden* and *Heylin*, both very candid hiſtorians, and the former a very knowing antiquary ‡.

The poſſeſſors, therefore, of church lands have all the ſecurity which the nature of the caſe admits, and no private property ſeems to be held by ſo firm a tenure. The public good and tranquillity, both of the church and ſtate, was the inducement to this conveyance, in which the authority of the See of *Rome* confirmed the petition of a national clergy, which was the injured party, and the unanimous conſent of the whole legiſlature of a great people: all which was ratified by the LEGATE's full power and actual diſpenſation. Could a tranſaction, which carries with it every condition by which human compacts are rendered ſtable, ſtand in need of any weight which the writer can give it? I think it may be affirmed, that nothing leſs than the joint concurrence of all the parties, who aſſented to this agreement, can either annul or invalidate it: and I have entered on this detail, becauſe, from views which need not be indicated, no part of our hiſtory has been related with more want of good faith, and left the Reader open to greater prejudices.

The Houſes did not break up on the memorable day on which the nation's reconciliation with the Catholic church was completed, till four of the clock; yet the LEGATE, the ſame evening, diſpatched an expreſs to the Pope with the news of this great event. The congratulation is drawn from every topic which ſo copious a theme afforded;

‡ The revenues taken from the church by *Henry* and *Edward*, were confirmed to the Queen and the preſent poſſeſſors. *Camd.* Introd. to the Annals of *Eliz.* p. 8.

Pope *Julius* iſſued out a decree, with ſome reaſons which might ſeem to induce him to confirm all ſuch lands on the preſent occupants. Dr. *Heylin*, Pref. to the Hiſt. of the Reform.

and

and " he particularly felicitates himſelf, that not- SECT. withſtanding his fears leſt the long averſion which IX. the nation had entertained to the holy See might cauſe him to deſcend to ſome unbecoming conditions; he had experienced the effect of his earneſt intreaty to their Majeſties, that no ſuch diſagreeable incident might happen. The whole affair, he ſays, had been tranſacted in the general council of the nation, and in the preſence of the Sovereigns, with an univerſal ſatisfaction; and the diſcourſe, by which he delivered himſelf, and the benediction, with which the general abſolution is cloſed, was received with the unanimous approbation of all preſent. This, ſays he, is a ſtrong indication, that the original principle of right belief in this people, though long ſuppreſſed, ſtill retains its primitive vigour †." My joy, he adds, is equal to the importance of ſo deſirable an event, of ſuch advantage to the holy church, ſo honourable to the Princes who were inſtrumental to it, and ſo ſalutary to a country which firſt gave me birth, and now receives me from baniſh- 30th *Nov.* ment. 1554.

The King likewiſe, on the ſame day, wrote to the Pope a letter of great reſpect, and informed him " that the kingdom, by the unanimous conſent of their repreſentatives, had teſtified an unfeigned

† Non poteram non in aliquo timore verſari ob eam difficultatem quam afferebat noſtrorum hominum abalienata à Sede Apoſtolicâ voluntas: ſed multo magis verebar ne ingreſſus in cauſam aliquâ interpoſitâ minùs honeſtâ pactione inquinaretur. Quod quidem ne accideret vehementer egeram cum Regibus. Acta eſt res in concilio totius regni, præſentibus Regibus, tantâ omnium conſenſione et plauſu, ut cum ego verba feciſſem, ad extremum benedictione abſolvendâ, ab univerſis certatim mirificâ voluntatum ac ſtudiorum ſignificatione acclamatum ſæpius ſit. Ex quo planè perſpectum eſt in his populis ſanctum illud ſemen, etſi diu oppreſſum, non tamen extinctum fuiſſe. *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 5ta, p. 1.

SECT. IX. repentance of their paſt miſdemeanours, and no leſs ſatisfaction for having yielded their obedience to the holy See, and being abſolved by the LEGATE, at the Queen's, and his, the King's, interceſſion. The joy which theſe relations occaſioned at *Rome* was ſignified to the LEGATE by Cardinal *Moron*, who takes notice particularly, that *Philip*'s letter had even made an impreſſion on the *French* who were there *.

But this revolution was too intereſting to be communicated only to the court of *Rome*: and the *French* King having treated the LEGATE, when he was at his court, with a diſtinguiſhed good will, the latter judged it a decency he owed that Monarch, to inform him of the late event. As the commiſſion with which the Pope had charged him to endeavour a reconciliation between the houſes of *Auſtria* and *Valois* ſtill ſubſiſted, he made both theſe articles the ſubject of his letter. "I could do no leſs, ſays he, than write to your Majeſty on the happy change which *England* has lately ſeen, eſpecially as it was brought about by the ſame upright meaſures which I always judged moſt ſuitable to the accompliſhment of a peace between your Majeſty and the Emperor. This ſentiment has induced me to congratulate your Majeſty on ſuch an inſtance of the divine mercy, as I well know, from what you have been pleaſed to ſay to me on that ſubject, how agreeable it will be to you; and to ſignify how rejoiced I ſhould be to contribute to the other reconciliation with which I
30th *Dec.* 1554. am charged. He wrote to the ſame purpoſe to the Lord High Conſtable of *France*, who held a diſtinguiſhed place in his Prince's favour; and requeſts of him to uſe his prudence and authority to

* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 5ta, pag. 92.

cauſe

cauſe the King to enter into the pacific diſpoſi- SECT. IX.
tions he had recommended to him.

The *French* King, by a very obliging letter, aſſured the LEGATE of the ſhare he took in the news he had communicated to him, and in the circumſtance of his being choſen by Providence to be the inſtrument of ſo great a bleſſing. Your zeal, my Lord, ſays he, your ſincerity, and your ſkill in the management of affairs, has chiefly contributed to ſo ſalutary a work; and the title I enjoy of moſt Chriſtian King, which ſhould remind me to place what concerns the worſhip of the ſupreme Being above all other conſiderations, has cauſed me to praiſe Almighty God, and order my whole kingdom to praiſe him, for the moſt welcome intelligence I could ever have heard. As for yourſelf, my Lord, my congratulations with you are perſonal; and I ſhall hereafter love and eſteem you in a higher degree than I have yet done, for having brought this great affair to a happy iſſue; and likewiſe for the inclination, which, from a regard to the public good, you ſhew for peace between the Emperor and myſelf*." *Dec.* 1554.

Such letters, I know, are generally ſuppoſed to mean much leſs than the words imply; but tho' they may not always indicate the writer's real ſentiments, they are an acknowledgment of thoſe diſpoſitions which he is conſcious would become him on the like occaſions.

Soon after the Queen ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to *Rome*, to acknowledge the ſupremacy in her own and the King's name, and that of the whole nation. The Biſhop of *Ely* was to perform this on the part of the Clergy; Lord *Montague*, the LEGATE's nephew, on that of the Nobility; and Sir *Edward Carne*, who remained the Queen's Am-

* Ambaſſades de *Noailles*, tom. 3. pag. 324, et ſeq.

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baſſador in ordinary, for the Commons. They ſet out towards the end of *February*; and the *French* King, notwithſtanding the Queen's partiality to the Emperor, had given orders to have them received in all places of his dominions, thro' which they paſſed, with great honour, and have every convenience furniſhed them at his expence *." Some time before they began their journey, the LEGATE had ſent a very honourable teſtimony of them to the Pope, and had entered on a particular detail of the merits of each. He had likewiſe ſignified to him, "that as *Ireland* had been erected into a kingdom during the ſchiſm, and other public concerns which were tranſacted in that interval having been confirmed by the authority of the holy See, their Majeſties were deſirous that this alſo might receive the ſame ſtability, before the arrival of their Ambaſſadors at *Rome*. On this account they ordered him, whom they had appointed protector of their realms at his Holineſs's court, to aſk this in their names, as he then did. That as to the protectorſhip, ſince his abſence did not allow him to perform the duties which it brought with it, he had already requeſted Cardinal *Moron* to take on himſelf what concerned *England*; and he now made the ſame petition to Cardinal *Carpo* in favour of *Ireland*; that as he had formerly exerted his good offices towards that iſland, he would ſtill continue them in his, the LEGATE's ſtead. He moreover intreats the Pope to remit to the new Biſhops the uſual fees for their patents, on account of the dilapidation to which all their Sees had been expoſed through the calamities of the late years; and he ſhews how deſerving they were of this indulgence;

* Ambaſſades des *Noailles*, tom. 4. pag. 189.

but

but he adds, that the Biſhop of *Worceſter* †, who, many years during the two laſt reigns, had ſubſiſted on the liberality of the court of *Rome*, had, from a ſenſe of his obligations, deſired this favour might not be extended to him *." SECT. IX.

Dr. *Rich. Pates.* *London*, 10 *March*, 1555. 23d *Mar.* 9th *April.*

This letter was ſcarcely ſent when advice came of the death of the Pope *Julius* III. and of *Marcellus Cervini* having been choſen to ſucceed him. His eminent virtue had connected him very intimately, when he was a private Cardinal, with our countryman, as appears from the many letters which paſſed between them, which are ſtill extant, and the tears which he ſhed at the news of his death. On the firſt information of this election, he immediately ſignified to the Pontiff the joy he had received from it, and the expectation it had raiſed in the whole Chriſtian world, of ſeeing the church reformed no leſs by his example than his ordinances. He lets him know, at the ſame time, that he had been choſen to negotiate a peace

† This prelate was born in *Oxfordſhire*, and having received the firſt part of his education at *Corpus Chriſti* college, finiſhed it at the univerſity of *Paris*. On his return home he was advanced to ſeveral church preferments, and employed in a public character at the Emperor's court. In 1539 he was conſecrated Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and ſent again to the ſame court, but refuſing to come back to *England*, on a diſlike to *Henry* VIIIth's proceedings, in 1547 he was deprived of his ſpiritualities, and attainted of high treaſon. He remained in baniſhment during *Edward*'s reign, and ſat in the council of *Trent*. Queen *Mary* recalled him to his country in 1554, and reſtored him to the See of *Worceſter*. On the ſucceeding revolution under *Elizabeth*, he was a ſecond time deprived of his biſhopric, for refuſing the oath of ſupremacy; and, going abroad, aſſiſted at the cloſe of the council of *Trent*, and therefore muſt have been alive in 1563. Biſhop *Pates* was learned, and of a peaceable diſpoſition; and, though zealous for the faith of his anceſtors, was averſe to all violent proceedings on account of religion. *Godw.* de Præſ. *Ang. Fox*, year 1559. *Hump.* in vitâ *Juelli*, 1573, p. 179. Ath. *Oxon.* p. 64.

* Epiſt. *R. Poli* pars 5ta, pag. 4.

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between the Emperor and the *French* King, at a congreſs where the reſpective Ambaſſadors of theſe Princes were to give him a meeting: and being to execute this commiſſion on the part of the holy See, he deſires the Pope's orders with reſpect to the conduct he was to obſerve in the whole affair‡. Theſe expectations vaniſhed by the ſudden death of *Marcellus*, which happened on the twentieth day after his election, and whilſt the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors were on their road to *Rome*, and his ſucceſſor was choſen a few days after.

*Richmond*, 1ſt *May*.

23d *May*.

In the mean time, the incident of the death of two Popes gave the courts of *England* and *France* an opportunity of ſhewing what their concurrent ſentiments were of CARDINAL POLE; and though the ſhortneſs of time which intervened between each election, did not allow them to procure the ſupreme poſt of honour to his merit, they had not failed to ſignify their own ſenſe of it. The Queen's orders on this occaſion, to *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and High Chancellor, to the Earl of *Arundel* and the Lord *Paget*, who were then at *Calais* on a project of peace between *France* and the Emperor, are to the following purpoſe. "She begins by telling them, that, in order to redreſs the various evils which afflicted the whole ſtate of Chriſtendom, much would depend on raiſing a fit perſon to the Papacy; and ſhe was aware of the great inconveniences which muſt befall the common cauſe, if worldly conſiderations alone were conſulted: ſhe would therefore, for the diſcharge of what ſhe owed, both to God and the world, uſe her beſt endeavours that a perſon might be choſen, without further delay, who was qualified to fill up the meaſure of this character; and ſhe knew no one ſo likely to do it as her deareſt kinſman, the

‡ Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 5ta, pag. 7.

Lord

Lord CARDINAL POLE. That as he had many years been univerſally acknowledged deſerving of that high ſtation, on account of his great learning, his experience, and the integrity of his life, ſhe wills them to take a favourable opportunity of treating, in her name, with the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, the Lord Conſtable, and the other *French* commiſſioners, that this election may be promoted by the *French* King, and the Cardinals who were in his intereſt; and, if it took place, ſhe makes no doubt but his Majeſty, and every one elſe, would have cauſe to rejoice, and give thanks to God. She aſſures *Henry*, that had ſhe known any one more worthy of that eminent ſtation, no perſonal attachment ſhould have prevailed on her to give her kinſman the preference; ſhe calls on the ſearcher of hearts to witneſs the truth of this declaration. They might alſo certify him, on her word and honour, that ſhe made this overture to him without the conſent or knowledge of the CARDINAL; and that any other mention of his wiſdom, ſincerity, and other excellent qualities, was needleſs, as theſe were known to her good brother the *French* King, and to the reſt of *Europe* *." SECT. IX.

*Hampton-Court, 10th May, 1555.*

The letter here cited enters on a much larger detail of what I have only ſet down the ſubſtance: but the *French* King wanted no inducement, beſides his own inclination and eſteem, to advance CARDINAL POLE to the Popedom. As ſoon, therefore, as he had advice of it being vacated, he ordered the High Conſtable of *France* to write to the Lord of *Noailles*, his Ambaſſador at the *Engliſh* court, "that, from an uncommon opinion of the

* An original in the *Cotton* Lib. *Titus* b. 2. produced at length by Biſhop *Burnet*, Hiſt. of the Reform. part 2, p. 282. of the Collect. of Records, N°. 18.

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LEGATE's goodneſs, and the ſingular affection he bore him, he was deſirous of ſeeing him in a poſt equal to his merit, and had omitted nothing, at this juncture, to advance him to the Papacy; and if he knew any good office which might contribute to it, the King deſired to be informed, as he had nothing more at heart than that this opportunity might not eſcape them *." This letter was accompanied with another to the LEGATE, which was to be delivered by the Ambaſſador; who informs the High Conſtable, "that he read it with great attention, and teſtified his obligations to the King for his gracious purpoſes in his regard; and truly, ſays the Ambaſſador, his good qualities are ſo eſtimable, and his whole character ſo much above all blame, that I do not think there is any one living who can have any objection to it †."

*Chantilly*, 20th *May*.

15th *May*.

The ſuddenneſs of the election, as has been ſaid, firſt of *Marcellus* after *Julius*, and then of *Paul* after *Marcellus*, ſtopped any further proceedings in this affair, and we only learn from it, that two rival courts, who had oppoſite views in all other concerns, ſeemed to vie with each other, and to have but one common intereſt when the commendation of CARDINAL POLE was the theme, or his advancement the prize.

Whilſt theſe meaſures were concerting at the courts of *England* and *France*, the Ambaſſadors of the former arrived at *Rome*, and made their entry into the capital of the Chriſtian world the day on which *Paul* IV. was crowned; which was a circumſtance he looked on as honourable, and which carried with it a preſage in favour of his election. They entered *Rome* with a numerous and ſplendid retinue, and ſuited to the ſolemnity of the occaſion

5th *June*.

* Ambaſſades de *Noailles*, tom. 4. pag. 301.

† Ibid. pag. 305.

on

on which they came; and five days after, in the first conſiſtory which was held after the Pope's coronation, he admitted them to his preſence. They proſtrated themſelves at his feet, and, in that poſture, acknowledged the errors of the ſchiſm, and other miſdeeds of the nation, which they enumerated in ſome detail. They confeſſed, in particular, the ill return they had made for the many inſtances of love and regard by which the holy See had diſtinguiſhed them; and humbly crave pardon for all. After which the Pope raiſed them from the ground, embraced them, and, in their perſons, received the whole nation into his favour *. So great was his ſatisfaction at an embaſſy of ſuch importance, that he wrote to the King and Queen an account of the audience he had given to their Ambaſſadors; out of which, as it is greatly recommended by the dignity of the relator, I ſhall give the Reader the following extracts. SECT. IX.

"He informs their Majeſties, that Lord *Montague*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, and Sir *Edward Carne*, being arrived at *Rome* on the 5th of *June*, had audience of him in the Prince's hall, five days after; at which the Cardinals, the foreign Ambaſſadors, a great number of Biſhops and Prelates, all his own court, and the whole body of the *Roman* nobility were preſent. That they had made, in the nation's name, a proper ſubmiſſion for paſt errors and failings, and had been received into his fatherly boſom and embrace. That he had ratified whatever the *Engliſh* LEGATE had done; and, as far as might any ways be neceſſary, had enacted it anew. That, when the whole was over, the Biſhop of *Ely* had pronounced ſo pathetic and per-

* Ex Actis Conſiſtorialibus, part of which are cited *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 5ta, pag. 132.

tinent

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tinent a diſcourſe, as to move the hearers to tears: As to what concerns the LEGATE, ſays the holy Father, there is nothing which either their Majeſties or himſelf could do for his honour and emolument, but what was inferior to his probity and other virtues, and to what he deſerved of him, the Pope, of the holy See, of their Majeſties, and the whole realm †."

30th *June.*

The Ambaſſadors delivered likewiſe a letter from the LEGATE to the Pope, in which, after the uſual compliments, "he mentions with great complacence the hopes he entertained of ſeeing a reformation, which was ſo much deſired, and ſo much wanted, effected by a Pontiff, whoſe former life had been remarkable for regularity, and thoſe virtues, the practice of which he was to revive in others. The undertaking, he owned, was attended with great difficulties, yet was of ſuch a nature, that whoever engaged in it ſeriouſly would meet with great comfort; and that the whole Chriſtian world would rejoice in proportion as they perceived his Holineſs took this work to heart; and if Chriſtians in general, and the perſons of his, the LEGATE's profeſſion, more than others, were bound to aid him in this laudable attempt, he thought it needleſs to produce vouchers for the promptitude of his own obedience in this particular. He ſhould therefore wait the orders his Holineſs ſhould be pleaſed to give him, as ſoon as he was informed in what ſituation the affairs were, with which the two late Popes *Julius* and *Marcellus* had intruſted him *."

The Pope, at the ſame time, and at the requeſt of their *Britannic* Majeſties, erected *Ireland* into a kingdom; and as the petition, in conſequence of

† Ex Actis Conſiſtorialibus, pag. 136.
* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 5ta, pag. 11.

which

which this conceſſion was made, may now ſeem very extraordinary to an *Engliſh* reader, he may not be diſpleaſed with a brief narrative of the reaſons of it. The petty Princes of that iſland having been aſſiſted, in the 12th century, by *Henry* II. againſt the invaſions of the *Danes* and *Swedes*; they, in their turn, acknowledged him for their Sovereign, and paid him tribute. The King deſired *Adrian* IV. to ratify this ceſſion, and confirm his claim to the country; which that Pope granted, on condition he would endeavour to eſtabliſh Chriſtianity in its purity, and pay a certain annual acknowledgment to the holy See: and the ſucceeding Kings of *England*, for near 400 years, conſidered *Ireland* as part of their domain, though it ſtill continued to pay obedience to particular governors, who were native *Iriſh*. *Henry* VIII. in 1541, took the title of King of *Ireland*, which, in the following year, was confirmed to him by Parliament: but as this was done during the nation's ſeparation from the church of *Rome*, *Philip* and *Mary* were deſirous that, when the ſchiſm was ended, it might be ratified by the Pope *.

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The LEGATE had accompliſhed a work which required a zeal and abilities as enlightened and extenſive as his: and now a foreign great exigence called him forth, in which, if he had not the ſucceſs he met with in his own country, his integrity and talents for negotiation appeared to no leſs advantage, and were acknowledged with equal applauſe. A long and deſtructive war had depopulated the Empire and *France*, and CARDINAL POLE, as we have ſeen, had been employed at both theſe courts, to negotiate a reconciliation, and had addreſſed a fine diſcourſe, of which the

* The Bull of this conceſſion bears date 7th of *June* 1555. Ex Actis Conſiſtorialibus, Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 5ta, pag. 136.

Reader

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Reader has ſeen the contents, to the intereſted Princes. Theſe endeavours, though they had cauſed the *French* to admire his parts and uprightneſs, had no other effect on the Emperor than to give him a pretext of taxing the LEGATE with partiality, and the treaty was dropped. But the happy termination of his late tranſactions in *England*, had given him ſuch a figure in *Europe*, as made it difficult to determine which of thoſe qualities which conſtitute a great and good man appeared with more ſuperiority, and there was no undertaking to which he was not judged equal. Though the war between *Charles* V. and *Henry* of *France* ſtill continued, they both ſeemed willing that a treaty of peace might again be attempted, and the *French* Ambaſſador had ſignified to the Count of *Montmorency*, that it would be very deſirable that he ſhould be appointed to preſide, on the part of the moſt Chriſtian King, and the Duke of *Alva*, on that of the Emperor, at the congreſs which was to be held for that purpoſe †.

The LEGATE, likewiſe, who, as the Ambaſſador expreſſes himſelf, had undertaken this affair, wrote to the *French* King, to the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and to the Count of *Montmorency*, in order to give an opening to the negotiation; and, that none of the formalities might be wanting, he let them know he was appointed by the Pope to aſſiſt at it *. Soon after, the Prothonotary *Noailles*, brother to the Ambaſſador, came over to compliment the Queen on the happy change of the realm, and brought with him letters to the LEGATE from the *French* King and his miniſters, in anſwer to the overtures he made of peace, and the conferences were accordingly renewed. The Chancellor *Gardiner*, who was the next perſon to the LEGATE

† Negociations de *Noailles*, tom. 4. pag. 63. * Ibid.

both

both in office and authority, of thoſe who aſſiſted at them, had ever been in the intereſts of the Emperor and his ſon *Philip*; and therefore the *French* ſuſpected all his declarations, and the meaſures he propoſed; and whenever any thing concerning the peace did not go on with ſuch expedition, or in the channel they deſired, they never failed to impute it to the influence which he had with the Queen and the LEGATE, and the perverſe uſe they imagined he made of it; on which the two brothers expreſs themſelves with remarkable bitterneſs *. He was not aſhamed to tell me, ſays the Prothonotary, in the account he gives of this conference to the Count of *Montmorency*, that he was doubtful if the LEGATE's abilities were anſwerable to ſuch an undertaking, unleſs he was aſſiſted by perſons more expert than himſelf: on which he entered into ſuch a fit of jealouſy, that I was obliged to ſooth him, by anſwering, that you, my Lord, had ſo high an opinion of him, as to deſire that the Queen and himſelf, if they thought proper, would take part in the negotiation, on account of the ſincerity of the one, and the authority of the other, and the juſtice of the cauſe, and the uprightneſs of the intentions of the King my maſter: and that his Majeſty would have made no difficulty to have left the management of the whole affair to them, as far as was conſiſtent with honour and reaſon: to which the Chancellor abruptly replied; that though the Queen and himſelf had a very ſincere deſire of ſeeing peace eſtabliſhed between the contending powers, yet as they were looked on to be biaſſed towards one of them, they could not decently interfere in it: that the LEGATE, who was ſoon to paſs the ſea, was the only perſon from whom this ſalutary office

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* Negociations de *Noailles*, tom. 4, pag. 119.

could

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could be expected; but yet he ſhould think himſelf very happy to contribute all within his power, if you, my Lord, judged he could be ſerviceable to it †. This was the after-game which *Gardiner*'s diſappointed ambition played; and the *French* King let the Prothonotary and his brother know, that he had always had a confidence in the LEGATE's good faith and ſincerity, anſwerable to the diſtruſt he lay under of the contrary qualities in the Emperor and thoſe of his faction, to whoſe intereſts the circumſtances he was in muſt in ſome ſort have made him hitherto favourable *.

Both theſe Miniſters ſeem to have entertained a very diſadvantageous opinion of our countrymen, and the younger of the brothers writing to the Lord High Conſtable, on a conference he had with the Chancellor, "your Lordſhip, ſays he, may judge from hence, what ſmall dependence can be lain on the greateſt perſonages of this nation, ſince they are ſo addicted to change even in affairs of the higheſt concern ‡:" and the elder brother, in a letter to the King, "though the *Engliſh* in general, ſays he, ſeem thoroughly bent on entering on meaſures prejudicial to *France*, they were ſo variable, that he did not think they were yet come to any fixed reſolution; nor did the wind veer to every point of the compaſs with more unexpected changes, than their minds to the moſt oppoſite ways of thinking: thus, though *Philip* and *Mary* deſired to bring about a peace, as *Noailles* aſſures the Count of *Montmorency*, more earneſtly than any of the King's ſubjects in *Picardy*, which was lain waſte by fire and ſword, nothing was obtained ‖."

† Negociations de *Noailles*, tom. 4, pag. 120.
* Ibid. pag. 179. ‡ Ibid. pag. 123. ‖ Ibid.

The

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The LEGATE, at firſt, inſinuated that the Queen and himſelf were deſirous this treaty might be carried on in *England*; but on *Noailles'* remonſtrating, that a neutral place on the Continent, where the deputies of each party might meet, and the LEGATE aſſiſt as not engaged on either ſide, would be more ſuitable; he very ingenuouſly acknowledged this to be the moſt expedient means, but doubted if the Emperor and his ſon would be eaſily brought to aſſent to it. At length the preliminaries to the congreſs, which are as circumſtantial as the prelude to a feat of chivalry, were adjuſted; and it was agreed, that the Emperor ſhould ſend the Duke of *Alva* to *Gravelines*, as a perſon of ſuitable rank to the High Conſtable of *France**, who was to come to *Ardres* on the part of that nation. The *Engliſh* LEGATE had likewiſe ſignified his deſire that the Cardinal of *Lorrain* might aſſiſt at the conferences; and the Emperor having no perſon of equal dignity with this prelate, that part of the ceremonial was ſuperſeded. The Lords *Paget* and *Arundel* were to arrive with the LEGATE at *Calais*. The place fixed for the meeting was *Marc*, a village ſituated near *Ardres*, *Guignes*, and *Calais*; not far from which the Queen had cauſed an extemporary building, in form of a ſquare tent, conſiſting of four pavilions, to be raiſed in a large plain, which was at an equal diſtance from *Calais* and the frontiers of the empire and *France*. The ſpace between the pavilions was incloſed with curtains, and ſurrounded with a ditch and paliſades. The LEGATE occupied the lodgment to the eaſt, and the *Engliſh* noblemen, and others who came with

* The firſt officer of the crown of *France*; he commanded the army after the King, and before the Mareſchals, and took place next to the Princes of the blood. This office was ſuppreſſed by *Lewis* XIII. in 1627.

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him, that to the weſt: the quarter of the *Germans* was to the ſouth; that of the *French* to the north. In the centre of the pavilions was a ſpacious room covered with linen, and hung with rich tapeſtry, where the conferences were to be held. They be-
1555. gan towards the middle of *May*, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the Lord High Conſtable, had ſome private meetings with the LEGATE, in order to facilitate what was to be afterwards debated with the Emperor's agents. But as this method was perceived to be but ſlow, all the Miniſters met, and though the points in queſtion were debated with great temper, yet each of the contending parties inſiſted, with ſuch obſtinacy, on their ſeveral pretenſions, that from the firſt general conference it was ſeen they would come to no agreement. The LEGATE, on this, propoſed another expedient, which was to chooſe arbitrators, who might adjudge, in an amicable manner, whatever was the ſubject of contention, and to cement, by intermarriages, an union thus concluded*. But though the *French* ſhewed no diſlike to theſe alliances, and the Imperial Miniſters ſeemed to approve of them, it was on condition that the former ſhould give back whatever they had conquered in the late wars†. This, the *French* ſaid, would be giving up the cauſe to their adverſaries, and they deſired the LEGATE, and the *Engliſh* agents, to find out ſome more friendly and practicable expedient. This was the reſult of the conference held on the laſt of *May*; and as neither party would make an

* *Elizabeth* of *France* was propoſed for Don *Carlos*, only ſon of *Philip* of *Spain*; and *Margaret*, ſiſter of the *French* King, for the Prince of *Piedmont*.

† The *French* inſiſted on the reſtitution of the duchy of *Milan*, and the county of *Aſt*: and the Emperor on that of the States, which go by the name of the *Three Biſhoprics*, to himſelf; and of *Savoy* to the Duke of that title.

abatement

abatement in what they demanded, nor reſign any thing to their adverſary, on the 8th of *June* the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the Count of *Montmorency*, informed the *French* Ambaſſador at the *Engliſh* court, that the conferences were broken up *. 8th *June*, 1555.

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The LEGATE's integrity in this nice conjuncture had been ſo acceptable to both parties, that, as the proſpect of peace was not quite loſt, the Emperor, during the remaining part of the year, frequently propoſed it might be again renewed under his mediation: and, when a truce was agreed on, at the beginning of the following year, the *French* Ambaſſador, writing to his court, expreſſes himſelf in theſe terms; "I have met with more equity from the *Engliſh* government ſince the LEGATE is in the miniſtry, than ever before:" and elſewhere he ſpeaks in the moſt honourable manner of his abilities, his pacific diſpoſition, and impartial proceedings towards the *French* nation †. *April*, 1556.

The firſt thing the LEGATE did on his return to *England*, was to ſend the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* to *Rome*, to give the Pope an account, by word of mouth, of the ſtate of religion, and of the manner in which he had acquitted himſelf of the negotiation between *France* and the Emperor, with which the two laſt Popes had charged him ‖.

About the ſame time the governor of Don *Carlos*, *Philip*'s ſon, having prevented the LEGATE by a very obliging letter, he thought it becoming his own high ſtation, and the good opinion he had of the perſon to whom this charge was committed, to ſet before him, with freedom, the principal inſtructions he judged ſhould be inſtilled into the

* Ambaſſades de *Noailles*, tom. 4, pag. 343, &c.
† Ibid. tom 5, pag. 335.
‖ Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 5ta, pag. 14.

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mind of a young Prince; which, as they come ſo well recommended, muſt, I make no queſtion, be acceptable to the Reader. "The chief leſſon, ſays he, which thoſe who would rightly command others, ſhould learn, is to obey; for though this be neceſſary to every age and condition, it is more ſo to the offspring of Princes than to any other perſons, as Kings themſelves are wont to be led aſtray by nothing more frequently than an imagination, that the great privilege of royalty conſiſted in being above control. This miſtake, therefore, which they imbibe in early youth, was to be avoided, and they were to be made ſenſible, that no excellence could be expected from them, unleſs they ſhewed a greater docility and obedience than their ſubjects, firſt to the *Supreme Being*; in the next place to the *Laws*, and to their parents and preceptors. That they were to perform this on a very different principle from that on which perſons of a ſervile diſpoſition ſubmit to the will of others; and what thoſe do through fear, Princes are to perform from a love of rectitude, and of their own accord. Next to theſe virtues, generoſity and fortitude are what chiefly become a Sovereign, and if you illuſtrate the precepts by which your royal pupil may be inſtructed in the true knowledge of them, I had almoſt ſaid you had done your taſk. What induced me, he adds, to write in this manner, is, that there is nothing in which mankind is more univerſally deceived, than in their notions of theſe virtues. But if the young Prince, who was committed to Don *Honorato*'s care, was trained up to the obedience he had mentioned, and to diſtinguiſh counterfeit fortitude and prudence from that which is true, he knew whatever was requiſite for the due diſcharge of the duties of royalty; whereas, without this, though he

he poſſeſſed all the knowledge books could convey, he would be unfit to govern others †." SECT. IX.

*Philip* had now been about a twelvemonth in *England*; the little progreſs he made in the good-will of his new ſubjects, and, which was a conſequence of their diſlike, the ſlender influence he had in the councils of the nation, made the following occaſion of his departure not only welcome, on account of what he was called to, but of what he left. The Emperor *Charles* V. had, many years before, cauſed his brother *Ferdinand* to be choſen King of the *Romans*, and he was now about to make over the Empire to him, and to relinquiſh his *Spaniſh* dominions to his ſon; and *Philip* ſet ſail for *Calais*, in order to meet his father at *Bruſſels*, where the abdication was made with great ſolemnity. Before the Emperor put his ſon in poſſeſſion of ſo wide a domain, he diſcourſed him a conſiderable time, ſeveral hours of the day, on the art of government *; in which, as appears by his ſpeech to the aſſembled States, before he reſigned his kingdoms, he thought himſelf a great maſter ‡. Such leſſons are generally received with an indifference equal to the ſelf-complacence with which they are given; but here the ſchooling was ſo intirely thrown away on the pupil, that it operated the very reverſe of what was intended; for whereas moſt of the Emperor's advice was directed to perſuade moderation to his ſon, to correct his own pride, and the haughty behaviour of the *Spaniards* towards the *Flemings*, *Philip* ſeemed to pique himſelf on the oppoſite behaviour.

*Richmond*, 8th *July*, 1555.

The King, before he left *England*, deſired the LEGATE to be abſent as ſeldom as poſſible from the Queen, who had ſignified likewiſe the ſame

16th *Sept.* 1555.

† Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 3ta. pag. 78. * *Materen*, fol. 15.
‡ *Strada* de Bello *Belgico*, decas 1. l. 1. p. 7.

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deſire. He had appointed him chief of the Privy Council, and ſignified to the Queen, who had an implicit deference to all his inclinations, and in this was not led more by her huſband's choice than her own, that nothing which concerned the government ſhould be concluded without his knowledge and approbation. The LEGATE objected to this commiſſion, as little ſuited to the ſpiritual character with which he was inveſted; and the Lord of *Noailles*, in a letter to his court, written immediately on *Philip*'s departure, ſays, "he modeſtly declined a poſt which would have engaged him too much in the concerns of the world *." But their Majeſties having ſignified their pleaſure in terms which admitted of no reply, he ſubmitted, on condition he might be at liberty to give the greater part of his time and attention to ſuch functions as were proper to his ſtate of life; and, as a preſent inſtance of his deference to their will, he took up his apartment in the palace at *Greenwich*, where the King had taken leave of the Queen, to whom, ſays the ſame Ambaſſador, his converſation was a very ſeaſonable relief in the affliction ſhe lay under for her huſband's abſence †.

About this time the Pope began to manifeſt a malevolence to the LEGATE, which had long cankered in his breaſt; and he let him know his deſign of recalling him to *Rome*; but added, that he would not reſolve on this meaſure till the affair of the See of *Canterbury* was determined, and he was informed more thoroughly of the likelihood of bringing about a peace between *France* and the Emperor, of which he ſeemed very deſirous ‡. On the LEGATE's ſignifying to the King the Pope's intentions, that Prince had replied, that

* Negociations de *Noailles*, tom. 5. pag. 125. † Ibid.
‡ Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 5ta, pag. 42.

he ſhould with great regret be deprived of ſo able a miniſter, and ſo worthy a man; and that both he and the Queen would uſe all their intereſt with his Holineſs to prevail on him to lay aſide any ſuch thought: to which he returned this memorable anſwer, that though the love of our country was common to him and all mankind, and his perſonal attachment to *England* was attended with that peculiar endearment which a return from baniſhment to what we love brings along with it, yet what retained him with ſuch ſatisfaction, was not ſo much an affection to his native ſoil, as the tie of piety, juſtice, and clemency, by which their Majeſties connected him to it, and without which he could neither be uſeful to his country, nor his country agreeable to him *."

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*Peter Soto*, ſoon after *Philip*'s departure, viſited the univerſity of *Oxford*, and informed the LEGATE he found ſcholaſtic divinity much neglected; that no public lectures were read in that ſcience; and he was of opinion it would be proper to explain *the Maſter of the Sentences* †, and was willing to take this leſſon on himſelf. The LEGATE informed

* Etſi unicuique jucunda ſit patria, quæ mihi poſt longum exilium jucundiſſima, ut eſt, ſic eſſe debet; tamen quod in eâ me libenti animo retinet, non tam eſt ejuſdem patriæ amor, quàm pietatis, juſtitiæ et clementiæ Majeſtatum veſtrarum vinculum, quod me cum patria conjunxit; ſine quo nec ego patriæ utilis eſſem, nec illa mihi. *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 5ta, pag. 44.

† *Peter*, a native of *Lombardy*, from whence he had his ſirname, was firſt divinity profeſſor in the univerſity of *Paris*, and in the year 1150 named to the Biſhopric of that city. He was remarkable for the acuteneſs of his parts, and great reading. A theological treatiſe, in which, as in a common place book, the chief queſtions in that ſcience are ranged under their ſeparate heads, gave him the title of *the Maſter of the Sentences*. This work, in its kind, and for an age that knew nothing more uſeful and accurate, is very eſtimable, and the reputation it

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formed the King he had communicated this propoſal to the Chancellor, and they were both of opinion, it would be adviſable to appoint the leſſon here mentioned to be read inſtead of the *Hebrew*, which for many years had been little frequented *. But then it muſt be obſerved, that theſe two able men, and great ſcholars, would have only one leſſon of ſchool divinity be read, and not, as has been too univerſally the practice ſince, the greateſt part of the time and application be given to it: which is much the ſame as if an artiſt was to lay himſelf out in forming a mould, without one thought of caſting the ſtatue. For tho' ſchool divinity is by no means the whole of eccleſiaſtical learning, nor even the chief part of it, yet, ſtudied with diſcretion, it has great advantages, and the moſt eminent writers of the church, a *Boſſuet*, a *Bellarmine*, a *Peteau*, made great account of, and excelled in it; and *Soto*, who here offered himſelf to be profeſſor, poſſeſſed in a great degree moſt branches of learning. Whether *Peter of Lombardy* be a proper ſtandard of this branch of the ſcience in queſtion, is a diſquiſition foreign to this hiſtory: ſo far I think may be advanced, that whatever he might have been in that age, he would not be ſo in the preſent.

Human literature, at the time I am ſpeaking of, was not leſs neglected than divine, and ſeems to have been falling off ſoon after it had been revived by *Latimer*, *Linacre*, and others, when young

gained has cauſed ſeveral eminent perſonages to employ their parts in writing commentaries on it, inſtead of exerting themſelves in original productions, which might have been more inſtructive to ſtudents in theology, and more agreeable to thoſe who were advanced: to ſay nothing of the ſwarms of writers of another claſs, who have brooded over this work with the ſame fecundity as inſects on the banks of the *Nile*.

* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 5ta, pag. 47.

POLE

POLE was at the univerſity. The ſpeech, made a few years after to Queen *Elizabeth*, on her viſiting *Oxford*, is a boyiſh declamation, and the letter written to her on her ſafe arrival at her palace, ridiculous bombaſt*, and is moreover vilified by a pun†. This degeneracy was owing to the national convulſions, under which our country laboured through almoſt all that ſpace, and with which the attainments of erudition have ever been incompatible. The great names which have ſince graced this celebrated ſeat of learning, and ſtill continue to do honour to it, have cauſed this chaſm to be forgotten, and inrolled the ſons of *Iſis* in the faireſt records of literary fame.

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11th *Aug.* 1566.

This regulation concerning ſtudies was one of the laſt actions of Biſhop *Gardiner*'s life. His health, for ſome time, had been on the decline; notwithſtanding which he was preſent in Parliament a few days before he died, and ſpoke with ſuch ſtrength and preſence of mind, that, as the LEGATE informs the King, "he ſeemed, on that occaſion, not only to ſurpaſs himſelf in eloquence and prudence, and thoſe other qualifications which conſtitute a ſtateſman, but to be ſo ſuperior to his own bodily infirmities, as not to give any indication of them whilſt he was ſupporting the cauſe of his Sovereign and his country." In the ſame letter in which he gave *Philip* advice of this Miniſter's death, he ſignifies the loſs which the public ſuſtained by this incident, and the great detriment which both religion and juſtice would ſuffer, was the place to be long vacated; and that a few days experience had let them into this knowledge. That he wiſhed it was not more difficult to indi-

* They may be ſeen among other papers publiſhed with Sir *Thomas More*'s life, by *T. Hearne*, 1716.

† Ergo tuam celſitudinem, non dicam, ut numen; dicam certè, ut numam veneramur.

cate

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cate a proper perſon to ſucceed to the office, as the King required him to do, than it was eaſy to ſee what ſort of magiſtrate the preſent circumſtances ſtood in need of; for though there were ſeveral, of whom he thought well; yet the poſt was ſo important, and the conjuncture ſo delicate, that he did not dare to recommend any one *." He takes up the ſame ſubject in ſeveral other letters to the King, though he could not but be conſcious of the jealouſy which *Gardiner* had borne him, and, perhaps, of his machinations to obſtruct his return from baniſhment; yet his mind was ſuch a ſtranger to revenge, and the welfare of his country ſo much above all private reſentments, that he only conſidered him as a great miniſter, whoſe loſs was irreparable †. The dignity having been vacated ſome weeks, *Nicholas Heath*, Archbiſhop of *York*, at the LEGATE's recommendation ſucceeded to it ‡.

1ſt *Jan.* 1556.

It will be expected I ſhould not leave ſo celebrated a name as Biſhop *Gardiner*'s, without ſaying ſomething

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 5ta, pag. 48. † Ibid. pag. 52, et 54.

‡ This great prelate and magiſtrate was educated at *Corpus Chriſti* college in *Oxford*, and thence removed to *Clare Hall* in *Cambridge*. He took his degree of doctor in divinity in 1535. was almoner to *Henry* VIII. and conſecrated Biſhop of *Rocheſter* four years after. He was tranſlated to the ſee of *Worceſter* in 1543; but at *Edward*'s acceſſion, on refuſing to concur with the court meaſures concerning religion, was committed to the *Fleet Priſon*, where he remained during that Prince's reign. His temper and principles inclined him to moderation, and made him an advocate for thoſe who were perſecuted for hereſy, and againſt the revival of penal laws which concern it. On *Mary*'s acceſſion he was appointed Lord Preſident of *Wales*, and Archbiſhop of *York*, and on *Gardiner*'s death, High Chancellor. He acknowledged the Princeſs *Elizabeth*'s title to the crown, at her ſiſter's death, and met her at *Barnet*; and, with the other Biſhops, made her an offer of his allegiance on his knees. The See of *Canterbury* being vacant, it was Dr. *Heath*'s place

ſomething of thoſe many articles which make up his character, on ſome of which he ſtands arraigned in the minds of the generality of the *Engliſh* of theſe days; and which, though a panegyriſt might gloſs over, an hiſtorian ought to relate. It muſt be confeſſed, on the whole, that he had many failings, and ſome faults which cannot be excuſed: that he had great eloquence, and univerſal knowledge; abilities equal to each ſtation, to which he gradually roſe, and always filled, ſo as to attract the public obſervation. This will appear, if we neither form our opinion of him from elogy or invective, but from facts; and take into the eſtimate the various temper of the reigns he lived in, the nature and circumſtances of the affairs he managed, and the means by which he acquired *Henry*'s eſteem; the cauſe of his diſgrace under his ſucceſſor; and his behaviour when he was reſtored to favour and authority under *Mary* *.

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Some

place to officiate in chief at the ceremony of the coronation, which he would not do, as the Princeſs refuſed to maintain the Catholic religion, of which ſhe made profeſſion during her ſiſter's life. All the other Biſhops followed his example, till *Oglethorp* of *Carliſle* was, with much intreaty, prevailed on to put the crown on her head. On the firſt meeting of the Parliament he opened it by that memorable ſpeech, of which mention has been made elſewhere; and being ſummoned to take the oath of ſupremacy, on his refuſal, was deprived of all his dignities, and committed. He ſpent the remainder of his life at *Cobham* in *Surrey*, where he was a priſoner at large, and had a ſmall eſtate, which he was allowed to enjoy. The Queen retained that regard for him, which ſuperior merit ſeldom fails of extorting from an adverſary, and ſometimes viſited him. He died in 1579, and is buried in the chancel of the pariſh church of that place.

An original picture of this excellent perſonage is preſerved at *Weſton* in *Warwickſhire*, the ſeat of *William Sheldon*, Eſq; to which family he was allied.

* *Stephen Gardiner* was born in 1483, as appears from an original picture of him by *Hans Holbein*, and was educated at *Trinity*

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Some exigencies of theſe times, of which I am about to ſpeak, gave the LEGATE occaſion to convene a national ſynod, which he notified to *Philip* in the following manner: " I have found it, Sir, very neceſſary, in quality of the character with which I am inveſted, to call a ſynod, not only on account of the reformation of the *Engliſh* church, which is ardently deſired by all good men, and can never be undertaken more ſeaſonably than in the preſent juncture; but alſo that I may

*Trinity Hall* in *Cambridge*, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his diligence, ready parts, knowledge of the *Greek* tongue, and great elegance in ſpeaking and writing *Latin*. Theſe qualifications recommended him firſt to Cardinal *Wolſey*, to whom he was ſecretary, and afterwards, in 1528, when he was eſteemed the ableſt civilian in *England*, to the King, who employed him at *Rome* to ſolicit the cauſe of the divorce. A long letter, ſtill extant, (*Cartophylac. Reg. Biog. Brit.* p. 2093. *Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. among the Records joined to vol.* 2, p. 297.) ſhews the ſtrength and politeneſs of his genius, and the purity of his language, which is but little antiquated at ſo great a diſtance of time. He was afterwards appointed Secretary of State, (*Lord Herbert's Life of Henry* VIII.) and in 1531, conſecrated Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and ſat with *Cranmer*, when the latter pronounced the ſentence of divorce between the King and *Catharine* of *Arragon*. He took another courtly ſtep in 1534, and maintained the King's ſupremacy, by a diſcourſe *on true Obedience*; and, during this reign, his pen had no other direction than *Henry*'s caprice thought fit to give it. He appeared in a different character on *Edward*'s acceſſion, and was committed to priſon for not complying with the innovations which then took place, but was ſet at liberty in 1547. He was again committed to the Tower in the following year, and deprived of his Biſhopric, as the Proteſtant hiſtorians grant, without ſufficient cauſe; (*Biog. Brit. as above*, p. 2117. [FF]) and continued priſoner till that Prince's death. Queen *Mary* reſtored him to the See of *Wincheſter*, declared him Chancellor, and was crowned by him. As to the chief objection under which his character generally labours, of having been the inſtigator of the cruelties which were inflicted on account of religion, both in *Henry*'s and *Mary*'s reigns, the caſe has been fairly ſtated by a very curious and impartial writer of the church of *England*, who ſeems to clear him, in great meaſure, of the imputation. (*Biog. Brit.* p. 2099,

may ratify what the Biſhops and inferior Clergy have done in the convocation they are accuſtomed to hold, as often as the Parliament meets *. As this could not be duly ſummoned, either by the Primate, who is in priſon; or by the chapter, whilſt their Archbiſhop is neither condemned nor depoſed; it was neceſſary this ſummons ſhould be made by me, the LEGATE, in order to have the decrees, one of which concerns the free gift, come out under proper authority. I have been very particular with them concerning your Majeſty's and the Queen's intention in giving up the church lands which were inveſted in the crown, and of the diſpoſition you would have made of them. It was likewiſe agreed to draw up an Act of the ſurrender of the ſaid lands, firſt fruits, and perpetual tithes, and releaſe your Majeſties from all penſions which were paid out of the profits iſſuing from

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2099, 2021.) He adviſed the Queen, on her entrance into government, to acts of lenity; to give back to ſeveral noble families, as the *Norfolk*, *Arundel*, *Stanhope*, and *Hungerford*, what the crown had diſpoſſeſſed them of; and to reſtore to blood the Earl of *Devonſhire*, and the ſon of the Duke of *Somerſet*. His attention to the ſpirit of the conſtitution, in preference to every thing elſe, and particularly to royal and miniſterial power, and his care to exclude foreign influence from *Britiſh* councils, except in the inſtance of the Queen's marriage with the Prince of *Spain*, can never be too much commended: what ſhare he had in that match, and his jealouſy of CARDINAL POLE, has been already related. His abilities as Chancellor are atteſted, as we have ſeen, by a voucher above all exception, the perſon whom he rivaled: and the journals both of the Convocation and Parliament, which are ſtill preſerved, are abundant proofs of his weight in theſe aſſemblies, no leſs than *Noaillles'* negotiations of that which he had in the miniſtry. To theſe monuments of the magiſtrate and the ſtateſman we are to add thoſe of the ſcholar and the writer, which, though neither many nor voluminous, ſufficiently ſhew the author's abilities.

* The whole tranſaction may be ſeen in *Reg. Convoc. et Excerpt Heylinianis*; from whence it has been tranſcribed into *Conc. Mag. Brit.* t. 4, p. 120.

them.

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them. This bill was read to the Queen, and, by her order, communicated to ſome of the Council. They have ſince been with me, and aſſured me of their concurrence; and that it was their opinion the Bill ſhould be firſt brought into the upper Houſe *."

11th *Nov.* 1555.

In the following letter he ſays, "it was apprehended a difficulty would attend the propoſal in queſtion, as it could not paſs without their vote who were in poſſeſſion of church lands, whoſe number was very great; and therefore the Queen had diſcourſed ſeveral of both Houſes on the ſubject, with ſo much religion and prudence, that the Bill having been read three days together in the upper Houſe, had been univerſally agreed to on the third reading †: and though it was ſeveral days warmly debated in the lower, was at length carried by a much greater majority than was expected ‡."

At the ſame time he wrote to the Pope of what had been done in the Convocation, and a ſummary of the decrees which were to be enacted in the approaching ſynod. He informs him alſo of his deſign to ſend proper perſons to *Ireland*, which ſtood in no leſs need of a reformation than *England*, and both expected and deſired it ‖.

Hitherto the LEGATE had only removed the obſtacles to the great work he meditated; and had prepared the ſurface for a foundation on which he propoſed to rear the ſtructure of his country's future happineſs. The repreſentatives of the nation had abjured thoſe tenets, into which they had either been ſeduced or compelled during the two laſt reigns, and had been received into the communion of the See of *Rome*. The abbey lands,

* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 5ta, p. 51. † Ibid. pag. 53.
‡ Ibid. pag. 56. ‖ Ibid. pag. 19.

which

which was a capital obſtacle to this reconciliation, being now ſecured to their poſſeſſors, had quieted all fears of any future claim ariſing from this head. The LEGATE had alſo procured his commiſſion ſhould be enlarged; and had ſignified to all the lenity they ſhould be treated with on having recourſe to him for abſolution from thoſe cenſures to which their tranſgreſſions had rendered them liable.



This meaſure, above all others, reconciled the minds of the people to a return to the ancient worſhip, when they beheld the inſtrument not armed with terror, but inviting with the indulgence of a parent, and the benevolence of a friend. He had the favour and confidence of his Sovereign, and the eſteem of the whole *Engliſh* nation, founded on his univerſal knowledge, the various trials by which his virtue had been exerciſed, and the approved merit of his paſt life: and it muſt be confeſſed, that the undertaking he was about to attempt, required all theſe advantages, and a mind as patient and inured to application as his was.

Theſe diſpoſitions, therefore, were the prelude to the reformation he had projected, and which he began in the following manner. He obtained of the Queen a warrant under the Great Seal, to hold a ſynod; and, to avoid the after-game and chicanery to which the ambiguities of the laws, or prerogative of the crown might give occaſion, he was authorized to hold, not only the preſent ſynod, but any other hereafter, and to make what decrees he ſhould think fit; and the Clergy have full power to meet, and confirm and obey ſuch decrees, without any danger from any ſtatute whatſoever *. There is likewiſe mention of a ſimilar licence granted to the LEGATE, on his arrival in

* *Reginaldi Poli*, fol. 6, a. Conc. *Mag. Brit.* vol. 4, pag. 130.

*England*,

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*England*, of which notice has been taken in its proper place. The inconveniences into which the Clergy had been betrayed, by acknowledging *Wolſey*'s Legantine power, made theſe precautions adviſable; which, as they guarded the rights of the crown inviolate, ſo they ſecured the ſubject from the capriciouſneſs or ſiniſter views of the Sovereign.

From *Nov.* 1554 to *Nov.* 1555.

The LEGATE had now been about a twelvemonth in *England*, and had conſidered the prevailing diſorders which chiefly called for redreſs, and the remedies which were moſt likely to effect it, and recal, as far as human foreſight could provide, and the temper of the times permitted, the diſcipline of the church of *England* to the canons and rule of the primitive fathers. This is the plan which is ſet forth in the preface to the Acts of the Synod; and the writers of our country and foreigners have ſpoken of it in this light. The general council of *Trent*, at the firſt ſeſſions of which he preſided, contributed greatly to qualify him for all ſuch concerns; and the love he bore his country, whoſe preſent ſituation was, in great meaſure, his own work, engaged him to exert all his talents towards perfecting thoſe beginnings, which, however promiſing, ſtood in need of every aſſiſtance to bring them to their due ſtate.

The Convocation was yet ſitting, and had been prorogued, when the LEGATE called the Synod I am about to ſpeak of. The orders for calling it are directed to the Biſhop of *London*, as Dean of the metropolitan church, who was to communicate them to the Biſhops of the provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*, and to others of the Clergy, who were accuſtomed to aſſiſt at ſuch meetings, and were required to be preſent at this, which was

was to be held in the King's chapel, *Weſtminſter* *. SECT. IX.

The Biſhops aſſembled premiſe, That the evils with which the nation had been lately afflicted, were owing to their defection from the Catholic church; and therefore it was but fitting the council ſhould begin by acknowledging the greatneſs of the divine mercy in recalling them to the ancient faith and worſhip; and that a grateful remembrance of this benefit may be perpetuated to the lateſt poſterity, they appoint a collect of thankſgiving to be ſaid, every day, in the public ſervice of the church; and the day, on which the nation was reunited to the Catholic communion, which was the feſtival of St. *Andrew*, to be kept yearly with particular ſolemnity.

The ſecond decree obſerves, that the obedience due to the *Roman* Pontiff was no ſooner laid aſide, but the authority of eccleſiaſtical laws was aboliſhed; falſe teachers began to be countenanced, and books containing erroneous doctrine to be every where read: that, by theſe means, the people were corrupted in their faith, particularly as to what regarded the ſacraments; the regularity which became the Clergy, and whatever concerned church diſcipline, was neglected. It was therefore the intention of the preſent aſſembly to recall into uſe the former decrees of general and provincial councils, and other conſtitutions which have been canonically publiſhed in the kingdom on theſe heads, and they were to have the ſame weight as before the ſchiſm. And whereas *Otho* and *Ottobonus*, formerly Legates to the kingdom of *England*, had drawn up what ſeemed chiefly neceſſary to preſerve the faith and morals of the *Engliſh* Clergy and

* Ex Reg. *Bonner*, fol. 394. Cone. *Mag. Brit.* vol. 4, pag. 131.

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Laity; all who have care of ſouls, beſides the holy Scripture, and other books belonging to their charge, are commanded to have theſe conſtitutions, to be converſant in them, and ſee that thoſe committed to their care be taught what they ought to know of them.

The reading, or importing heretical books, is condemned; and thoſe who do either, or print, or retain ſuch writings, are declared liable to the cenſures provided in ſuch caſes. But as theſe regulations were in ſuch negative or general terms, as not to deſcend to any detail of what doctrines the people were to receive, what to ſhun; and as the late errors chiefly regarded the ſupreme Paſtor of the church, and the Sacraments, the LEGATE propoſes, as a complete rule of belief on theſe articles, what had been defined in the council of *Florence*, under *Eugenius* IV. The decrees of this council are here ſet down, with the moral inferences which Chriſtians ſhould draw from the doctrinal parts; the diſpoſitions with which the Sacraments are to be received, and the proper and peculiar effects of each of them, in what manner they are to be adminiſtred, and who is the miniſter. To which the LEGATE adds ſome regulations concerning the decent keeping of the holy Euchariſt in churches; which cuſtom, he ſays, had been totally baniſhed through the injury of the late times; and alſo of celebrating the feaſt of the dedication of churches, which was obſerved throughout *England*, on the firſt *Sunday* of *October*.

The LEGATE then remarks, that the intended reformation ought to take its beginning from thoſe who have the care of others; among whom this great abuſe too generally prevailed, that inſtead of reſiding in the churches, whoſe care they had undertaken, they delivered them over to hirelings.

That

That this diſorder may no longer take place, he exhorts all ſuch perſons, that "attending to themſelves, and to all the flock over which the holy Ghoſt had placed them, to feed the church of God, which he has purchaſed with his own blood," and for which they were to be account- *Acts*, ch. able, they would diſingage themſelves from xx. 28. worldly concerns; and, as the ſame Apoſtle admoniſhes, extend their watchfulneſs to every branch of their duty, ſo as to fill up the meaſure of the whole. He then goes on to repreſent the almoſt univerſal diſorder of dignified clergymen, who ſeemed only to regard the temporal emoluments of their benefices, without anſwering any of the purpoſes for which they were inſtituted; and the abuſe of pluralities, which make perſonal reſidence impracticable; and having mentioned the duty of reſidence, he appoints the penalties to which thoſe who do not comply with it are to be ſubject. SECT. IX.

But as a mere bodily reſidence, either of Biſhops, or of the inferior Clergy, who had care of ſouls, unleſs they complied with the paſtoral functions, the chief which conſiſted in preaching the word of God, was of little effect; the LEGATE obſerves how much this duty was neglected, whilſt thoſe who were charged with it gave themſelves up to other concerns. He reminds them of the maxim and example of the Apoſtles, who ſaid, "It was not fitting they ſhould leave the preaching of the goſpel, and ſerve tables," although that office, *Acts*, ch. as it was in the relief of the poor, was highly vi. 2. agreeable to piety. All prelates, therefore, are injoined to perform this duty; and, when they are lawfully hindered, to appoint proper perſons to do it in their ſtead. The ſame conduct is required of Rectors, Vicars, and whoever has the

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care of ſouls; and the duty was to be performed at leaſt on *Sundays*, and other feſtivals.

He admoniſhes them, that, in order to acquit themſelves of this obligation, it was not enough to preach in public, unleſs the paſtor exhorts and inſtructs in private thoſe who err in faith, or tranſgreſs againſt morality, and encourage ſuch as are faultleſs in both. He forbids all perſons to preach, but ſuch as are duly qualified and approved of by the Biſhop: and as the undue exerciſe of this function had given occaſion to many diſorders, the Biſhops are commanded to inſtruct carefully thoſe whom they intruſt with this weighty miniſtry, both as to the ſubjects they are to treat, and the method of treating them. That the people were, in the firſt place, to be exhorted to repentance, which was ſo much more neceſſary, as we have more grievouſly offended, and received, in our late deliverance from a pernicious ſchiſm, ſo ſignal an inſtance of divine mercy. In the next place, they are to warn their audience againſt thoſe errors and diſorders which chiefly prevailed in the doctrine and manners of the people during this time of calamity, and with which the greater part of the nation was ſtill infected. There being a great ſcarcity of preachers, leſt the people ſhould be totally deprived of ſo needful a ſupport as the word of God, homilies were to be ſet forth, which thoſe, who were not otherwiſe qualified, were to read in a clear and audible manner to their ſeveral congregations.

Theſe homilies, as we learn from a ſcheme of them found among Archbiſhop *Parker*'s papers, were to have been divided into four books: the firſt was to treat of the controverted points in religion, and whatever could preſerve the people from error; the ſecond to contain the expoſition of the Creed and Commandments, the Lord's Prayer,

Prayer, the Salutation of the bleſſed Virgin, and the Sacraments; the third was adapted to the Sundays, the feſtival, and ſaints days throughout the year, and was to explain the epiſtles and goſpels read on thoſe occaſions; the fourth treated of virtues and vices, and of the rites and ceremonies of the church *. A little reflection is ſufficient to ſhew the fulneſs of this plan, and the propriety of its diſtribution.

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The LEGATE here applies to the preſent ſtate of his country, what our Redeemer ſaid of *Judea* and the whole world, "that the harveſt was great, but the workmen few, and therefore the Lord of the harveſt was to be intreated to ſend workmen into his harveſt:" and in the mean time the Biſhops were to appoint perſons to viſit all parts of their dioceſes, that none might be deprived of the aſſiſtance they ſtood in need of. All pariſh prieſts are likewiſe required, on *Sundays* at leaſt, and feſtivals, and at a time when they are not taken up with the divine ſervice, to cauſe the children of their reſpective pariſhes to meet in the church, and to inſtruct them in the firſt rudiments of the Chriſtian religion, in piety and obedience to the laws of God, and to their parents.

Example, continues the LEGATE, adds great weight to what we ſay, and is in itſelf the moſt perſuaſive of all ſermons: thoſe, therefore, who are placed over others, are to be careful to excel them in every laudable commendation, particularly in that which St. *Paul* requires in Biſhops, the regularity of their own houſhold: wherefore, thoſe who are placed in this ſacred ſtation are moſt earneſtly requeſted to live, as the ſame Apoſtle expreſſes himſelf, ſoberly, chaſtly, and piouſly, that their example may be to others a leſſon of

* Ex M. S. Col. C. C. *Cantab.*

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religion and good diſcipline. They are to avoid all pomp and ſuperfluity in their dreſs, equipage and furniture; their table is to be frugal, and recommended by hoſpitality, charity, and Chriſtian diſcourſe: and the mean to be obſerved in each of theſe articles is preſcribed. That this frugality may have no appearance of avarice, whatever is ſpared by it, as St. *Gregory*, Pope, wrote to our Apoſtle, St. *Auſtin*, is to be lain out in the relief of the neceſſitous, the education of youth, and other works of piety, to the glory of God, the advantage of our neighbour, and the edification of all. They were to be fathers of the indigent, of orphans and widows, and the protectors of the oppreſſed; to be aſſiduous in the ſtudy of the holy Scriptures, and the diſcharge of all epiſcopal duties; to refrain from worldly concerns, and whatever the wiſdom of the canons has interdicted the clergy, and in every thing become blameleſs patterns to their flock. The ſame in proportion is required of the inferior clergy, it being but reaſonable that the members ſhould conform to their head; and that none might be ignorant of what it ſo much imported every one to know, theſe injunctions were to be abridged, and publiſhed ſo as to come to every one's knowledge.

The ſynod then deſcends to a diſorder, which they repreſent as almoſt univerſal; the marriage of religious perſons, of prieſts, and of the other orders of the clergy, and they condemn ſuch contracts as unlawful and ſacrilegious, and command a ſeparation to perſons thus engaged. Great numbers likewiſe of the clergy were ſo forgetful of decency, no leſs than of the other obligations of their profeſſion, as not to wear the clerical tonſure and habit, nor to perform the divine office, or apply themſelves to learning, or to any thing elſe that became them; but were taken up in worldly

ly buſineſs, and in vile and diſreputable employments. Theſe, therefore, were to be reduced to order, as to the above-mentioned articles; and the refractory were to be compelled to amendment by any remedy which the law admits, as far as to deprive them of their benefices. SECT. IX.

Next to preaching the divine word, no duty was more important than a careful and accurate attention in conferring holy orders; the Apoſtle having given Biſhops this charge, *Lay thy hands haſtily on nobody:* and the LEGATE obſerves, that from want of due regard to a concern of ſuch moment, the clergy lay under great contempt, and the divine worſhip was much diſregarded. He injoins Biſhops, therefore, with the approbation of the ſynod, to take all proper pains in acquitting themſelves of ſo eſſential a part of their charge; that they ordain thoſe of their own dioceſe; but if it was neceſſary to ſend them to be ordained elſewhere, they were to examine the perſons, and be aſſured of their fitneſs for the ſacred miniſtry: that they were not to imagine they had ſatisfied their obligation, if they committed this examination to others, who would perform the taſk in a careleſs manner, and be little ſolicitous concerning the character of the candidate. If the number of thoſe who are to receive holy orders be ſo great as to make the aſſiſtance of others neceſſary, they are to call in pious and learned perſonages, on whoſe diligence they can rely.

In theſe examens, the following articles were to be particularly attended to: that thoſe, who preſented themſelves, were clear of all errors in faith; that they were born in lawful wedlock, and had attained the age required by the canons; that they were free from any of thoſe blemiſhes which give an excluſion from the miniſtry; that their life and converſation was laudable, and their learning

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ſuited to the degree into which they were to be initiated. Great notice was to be taken if they were provided of a maintenance ſufficient to exempt them from want, which brought a diſgrace on the prieſthood, and expoſed them to the impious and deteſtable practice of making the holy ſacrifice of the maſs venal: and all were to be exhorted not to enter into holy orders on ſelfiſh and mercenary views, but from a deſire of honouring JESUS CHRIST. The LEGATE here enumerates ſeveral cautions which would greatly contribute to the obſervance of what he had injoined in the foregoing article; and concludes, that although the ſame ſcrutiny was not required in the collation of the inferior orders, yet a proportionable regard was to be had to every caution already mentioned.

The LEGATE having regulated, in this manner, what concerns the manners of the clergy, comes to the collation of eccleſiaſtical benefices, which he reſtrains to ſuch perſons as are both willing and able to perform the office on account of which the benefice is conferred. He cites the example of the Apoſtles, who being to chooſe ſeven deacons, and having aſſembled the Diſciples, ſpake to them in the following manner; "Brethren, look ye out among you ſeven men of honeſt report, full of the holy Ghoſt and wiſdom, whom we may appoint over this buſineſs;" and he intreats all Biſhops, whoſe peculiar department this was, to lay aſide human reſpects and affection, and confer the benefices of the church, thoſe eſpecially to which the paſtoral care was annexed, to the beſt qualified and moſt deſerving, and have before their eyes his ſervice only whoſe delegates they were.

*Acts*, ch. vi.

I muſt here aſk the Reader's leave to interrupt the account of the council, by an inſtance which the

the LEGATE gave of the exactneſs with which he practiſed what he preſcribed to others: for having a natural brother, who, during *Henry*'s reign, had been Archdeacon of *Derby*, he conferred no higher dignity on him, till two years after his return to *England*, and then only procured for him the See of *Peterborough*, which was one of the leaſt provided for of the Biſhoprics, and looked on as a very inconſiderable preferment, in compariſon of what the public voice had called him to, on whom it was collated. SECT. IX.

The ſeventh decree of the Council is very particular as to the qualifications which had only been mentioned in general terms in the foregoing article; and obſerves, that the Apoſtle's precept to Biſhops, of *not laying on their hands raſhly*, regarded no leſs the inſtitution of miniſters, than their ordination; and, therefore, that benefices, particularly thoſe which have the care of others annexed to them, are not to be conferred but after a very exact ſcrutiny. That the ſame conditions as to ſound doctrine, full age, gravity of manners, and learning, were to take place here, as in the other caſe. It was likewiſe to be ſeen, if the candidate had received the order neceſſary for the diſcharge of the duties of the benefice, if he ſeemed to be led by avarice, ambition, or other carnal views: he was likewiſe to have the teſtimony of a good life from creditable witneſſes; and to be admoniſhed by the collator of the office and burden he had taken on himſelf.

The LEGATE then proceeds to benefices, which require perſonal reſidence; and at length concludes, that Biſhops were to receive from the heads of colleges and univerſities the names of ſuch, as on account of their learning and manners were qualified for benefices; that, on the firſt vacancy, they might not be at a loſs on whom

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to confer them; and to inquire after ſuch learned and pious perſonages, as might be aſſiſtant to themſelves in the government of their dioceſes. As it was very prejudicial to churches to be long without a paſtor, the ſynod exhorts all Biſhops to ſupply immediately ſuch benefices as belong to their collation, without waiting the term within which it is fixed by the canons; and, in the mean time, to provide for the exigencies of the people: and the orders here made are addreſſed to all perſons who have a right of conferring eccleſiaſtical benefices, by what title ſoever this privilege is enjoyed.

The LEGATE then provides againſt the promiſe of benefices before they are vacant; and the council of *Lateran* having taken all neceſſary caution to prevent this abuſe, which was very common in *England*, and the cauſe of much evil, the parties concerned are referred to the canons there enacted for the extirpation of this diſorder. This decree is followed by another, which relates to Simony, which the LEGATE obſerves to have taken deep root in the late reigns. He ſets forth the hainouſneſs of this crime in general; enters on a detail of the various ways by which it may be committed; appoints penalties for the ſeveral diviſions of it; and, laſtly, preſcribes the form of an oath, which every one who was preſented to a benefice was to take.

The churches throughout the kingdom had ſuffered ſo much in the dilapidations of *Henry* and *Edward*, that it was but reaſonable to conſult the ſecurity of what had eſcaped ſuch a general plunder, or had been reſtored by the Queen's piety and munificence. In order to effect this, the LEGATE renews the conſtitution of *Paul* II. againſt alienating church lands, and whatever had been decreed on that head by general or particular ſyn-

ods of this realm; and, as a further means to obtain this end, all governors, or adminiſtrators of religious places, and clergymen, by whatever title they poſſeſs church benefices, are commanded, within ſix months after the publication of theſe conſtitutions, to make an inventory of all the moveable and immoveable goods, rights, claims, actions, or debts appertaining to the churches, or other places they held; which inventory is to be atteſted by creditable witneſſes, and renewed every third year, and as often as they devolve to a new poſſeſſor. One of the two copies, which were to be made of this, was to be depoſited in the church, or place to which the benefice belonged; the other, if the church was metropolitan, was to be depoſited with the chapter; if a cathedral, with the metropolitan; if a private church, or pious foundation, with the Biſhop. The metropolitans and other ordinaries are, moreover, in their viſitations, required to have theſe inventories with them, and to ſee if any thing was wanting; in which caſe they were to endeavour to recover it, and puniſh thoſe by whoſe neglect the damage had happened. "But as to thoſe eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions, which were formerly taken from the church, and confirmed by the holy See, to the preſent owners, they are excepted from this decree, and it is our will, ſays the LEGATE, that they ſhould in no ways be affected by it."

As the good order and diſcipline of a national church ſeems, in great meaſure, to depend on the obſervance of the following conſtitution, I ſhall give it the Reader in a greater detail than the former. The LEGATE begins it by obſerving, that the preſent ſcarcity of clergymen, ſuch eſpecially to whom the care of churches could be committed, or who were qualified to perform the ſacred functions, made it neceſſary to provide againſt

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againſt ſo great an inconvenience: and no means ſeemed more ſuited to this end, than that there ſhould be, in each cathedral, a nurſery for the raiſing future miniſters. The ſynod, therefore, orders that each of theſe churches ſhould, in proportion to its income and extent of juriſdiction, maintain a certain number of youth; on which head they make the following regulations: That thoſe who are admitted into theſe ſeminaries ſhould be eleven or twelve years old, have learnt to read and write, and given ſome indication of a diſpoſition to betake themſelves to the church, and of an aptitude to the ſacred miniſtry. The LEGATE would have this choice made chiefly out of the poor, though not ſo as to have others excluded, provided they give hopes of anſwering the end of the inſtitution. They were firſt to be inſtructed in the grammar; and then, being adopted into the metropolitan or cathedral church, were to be under the care of the chancellor of the church, or ſome grave and learned perſon, and be brought up in that learning and diſcipline which became the ſtate they were deſigned for. Of theſe there were to be two claſſes; one of the more advanced in age and literature, who were to be *Acolyths* *, and beſides their table and a gown, were to have a certain yearly ſtipend; the other claſs of the leſs advanced, who were only to have their table and a gown. Each claſs was to wear the clerical tonſure and dreſs, and, at ſeaſonable times, aſſiſt at the church office. The *Acolyths*, when they were of a proper age, and had made a ſufficient progreſs in virtue and learning, were to receive holy orders, and ſerve the church in whatever capacity the Biſhop and Chapter ſhould think fit; who were likewiſe to take care that each one was pro-

* One of the loweſt orders in the church.

vided

vided for according to his merit: and thoſe of the ſecond claſs, who in age, learning and virtue, followed the *Acolyths* thus promoted, were to ſucceed to their place. Beſides the youth of the ſeminary, other children of the city and dioceſe were to be admitted to the grammar ſchool, and the other opportunities of improvement, provided they had been liberally educated, and behaved becomingly; and as to dreſs, and their manner of living, they were to be on the ſame footing as thoſe who were ſupported by the church; and the ſame method of ſupplying the clergy out of them to be obſerved as with the others. SECT. IX.

It was neceſſary that a certain temporary proviſion ſhould be made for the maintenance of the youth, and the ſalary of the maſters, till ſuch time as a fixed allowance could be appropriated from benefices aſſigned for theſe purpoſes: wherefore the ſynod orders all Biſhops, and others who have a benefice amounting to the yearly value of twenty pounds, to ſet aſide a fortieth part of the clear profit of the produce to this uſe; and tho', as the ſynod remarks, they were already very heavily taxed, yet there could be no doubt but their zeal for religion, and the regard they had for the church, which was much deformed through want of proper miniſters, would cauſe them chearfully to ſubmit to this additional burden.

The Biſhop, the Dean and Chapter were to ſuperintend this ſchool, and to take care that the appointments for its ſubſiſtence were duly paid; and as many other regulations were neceſſary, they would be made in the next convocation. But as nothing could contribute more to the ſound doctrine and good manners of the youth, than that their inſtructors ſhould be no leſs recommendable for theſe qualifications than for learning, the LEGATE wills that no ſchoolmaſter be appointed, or any

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any one allowed to teach any where, or on any pretence, unleſs he be firſt examined and approved of by the ordinary, and by him informed of thoſe books he is to read in the ſchool, to train up the youth both in learning and virtue; and whoever had accepted the charge, and did not comply with this ſtatute, was liable to excommunication, and be excluded three years from teaching. The doctrine, manners, and learning of thoſe who were already put over ſchools, was carefully to be looked into, and if they were ſuch as are here required, they were to be continued, and to be informed of the preſent regulations: if not, to be removed, and proper perſons ſubſtituted in their place.

The viſitation of churches being of great uſe to correct vice and abuſes, to eſtabliſh good manners, and inforce the practice of eccleſiaſtical laws, Biſhops, and other ordinaries, are commanded to viſit their dioceſes, and places committed to their charge, every three years, according to the ancient cuſtom of this kingdom; and, if they are lawfully hindered, to appoint proper perſons to do it. This viſitation is to be performed with all the zeal that goodneſs and charity can inſpire. The viſitors are admoniſhed, in the firſt place, to take only thoſe perſons with them, of whoſe aſſiſtance they ſtand in abſolute need, and whoſe example may be profitable to others. They are to be ſatisfied with frugal entertainment, and to make no longer ſtay than was neceſſary, not to waſte their time to no purpoſe, and be a charge to thoſe with whom they were. The viſitation was to be made in the following manner: the city was firſt to be viſited, then the dioceſe, unleſs ſome peculiar caſe required the order to be changed. In the city, the viſitation was to begin from the cathedral, and be continued through all the collegiate and pariſh churches;

churches; at which not only the pariſh prieſts, but whatever clergymen inhabited the pariſh, were to be preſent. The ſchools likewiſe, and book-ſellers ſhops, and laſtly the hoſpitals were to be carefully inſpected. SECT. IX.

In the viſitation the Biſhops were to preach and confirm: if any of the dioceſe had incurred criminal caſes, which are reſerved to their cogniſance, they were to abſolve them on ſufficient ſigns of repentance, and to invite all, who were thus unhappily engaged, with a paternal affection. Some perſons of known integrity, and who were well informed of the manners both of the eccleſiaſtics and laity, were required to make their depoſition on this article.

With reſpect to pariſh churches, the following particulars were to be obſerved: whether the baptiſmal water, the holy oils, and the Euchariſt, were kept in a decent and ſafe place, renewed at proper times, and rightly adminiſtered: if the bleſſed Sacrament of our Lord's body was carried to the ſick with the cuſtomary marks of reſpect: if marriages were contracted lawfully in the church, and after the bans had been publiſhed, and at permitted ſeaſons: if the pariſh prieſt had a regiſter with the names of thoſe who were baptized, of the ſponſors, of the married, and the dead. The unconſecrated altars were to receive that holy rite; and if any had been profaned, they were to be purified: every thing in the church was to be clean, decent, and ſafe: the church-yard was to be ſo incloſed, that cattle could not enter it, nor be expoſed to any other filth: if the church, the quire, the belfry, the ſacriſty or parſonage-houſe ſtood in need of repair, thoſe to whom it belonged were to do it, according to the income of the church or pariſh: inquiry was to be made if nothing was wanting for the miniſtry of the altar and the church

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church ſervice, as chalices, pattens, corporal linens, veſtments, books, and the like: if maſs, and other divine offices were celebrated, not only at proper times, and according to the approved rites of the church, but alſo with reverence and devotion; if there was one clerk, at leaſt, to aſſiſt at the holy ſacrifice, in a decent ſurplice: if the books, the records, and other writings belonging to the church, were carefully kept.

The above-mentioned articles having been looked into, the next inquiry was to be made concerning the miniſters of the church, and the reſt of the clergy; whether they had been duly ordained, and were appointed for ſuch functions as ſuited their degree: on what title they held their livings or benefices; if they had intruded themſelves, or held ſuch as were incompatible; if they reſided, and ſatisfied their duty in the adminiſtration of the ſacraments, and each part of the divine ſervice; if they left their own, to ſerve other churches, particularly on holidays; if they were diligent in inſtructing the people, and teaching the children the firſt rudiments of the Chriſtian doctrine; and had ſuch books as were proper for theſe, and the other obligations of a pariſh prieſt. The examination was to extend to their life, manners, dreſs, converſation and family; if they frequented houſes of public entertainment, or evil fame, or followed any unbecoming employment; if they took care of the goods and rights of the church, and ſuccoured the neceſſitous; whether they were peaceable, and careful to reconcile ſuch as were at variance.

The viſitation was, at length, to come down to the people, and information to be taken, whether there were any who held erroneous opinions, who did not confeſs themſelves, who were uſurers, concubinarians, or who lived in enmity, or any notorious

notorious and habitual diſorder: if Lent, with the other faſts and feſtivals, and the like laudable inſtitutions of the church, were obſerved; and in caſe of licence obtained to uſe fleſh meat, and other diſpenſations, if a true and ſufficient cauſe had been alleged; and whether pious legacies had been complied with. Cogniſance was to be taken of the behaviour of the people at divine ſervice, particularly in time of maſs, at which they were to aſſiſt reverently from the beginning to the end; and nothing diſreſpectful, or that could diſturb the attention of the congregation, was to be allowed during that ſacred action. A like information was to be had of the inſtruction which maſters of families gave their children, and the care they took of their houſhold. SECT. IX.

The government of hoſpitals was to be inſpected; and care taken that good order was obſerved in ſuch places, and the revenues belonging to them employed to the relief of the poor. The ſame care was to be taken of ſchools, as to the behaviour of the maſters, and the books they explained: and no one, as the ſynod had decreed by a ſtatute already mentioned, was to be admitted to teach, unleſs he was approved of by the Biſhop. If any maſter was found to be unfit, he was to be removed. It was likewiſe to be obſerved, if bookſellers kept or ſold heretical, or other forbidden books.

Where there were collegiate churches and chapters, information was to be taken if the prebendaries, and thoſe in dignity, ſatisfied their obligation, as well in a due and devout performance of the divine ſervice, as in every other branch of duty.

When theſe things are done, the viſitor is to commend or reprove, as he ſees occaſion; and to employ for correction, if it be neceſſary, the cenſures of the church, and other means of re-

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dreſs which the law furniſhes; and to conclude the whole with a general exhortation to every one to comply with what their reſpective ſtations require of them.

There are ſome directions in the ſynod, which regard the viſitation made by the Metropolitans, of the provinces under their juriſdiction; and the LEGATE refers them, in general, to the conſtitution of *Innocent* III. on that head; but, amongſt other articles, he ſpecifies the following: to take information whether the Biſhops reſide in their dioceſes, and preach and live as becomes them: how they behave in conferring holy orders, and benefices; in appointing ghoſtly fathers, and correcting diſorders; in the viſitation of their dioceſe, and whatever regards the epiſcopal charge and juriſdiction, and the adminiſtration both of ſpiritual and temporal concerns: whether they obſerve the canons of the univerſal church, and the eccleſiaſtical inſtitutions of this realm: and if any thing be ſo remarkably faulty in any of theſe particulars, as to require a reformation, they are to effect it; if that cannot be done, they are to refer the caſe to a provincial ſynod; but if a ſtill higher authority be neceſſary, they are to have recourſe to the holy See.

Archdeacons are, in like manner, to viſit the diſtricts committed to their care, according to the form preſcribed above, and to refer to the Biſhops matters of greater moment, to which they find their own authority unequal: they were to bring into practice what had been enacted in the epiſcopal viſitation, and take information of the cauſes which were a hindrance to it; and becauſe much depended on them, as they were the Biſhops repreſentatives, they are referred to what two former Legates, *Otho* and *Othobonus*, had preſcribed on this matter.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, in order that Prelates may be at liberty to execute, notwithſtanding any appeal or contrary cuſtom, whatever was needful for the reformation of the people, the LEGATE renews what *Innocent* III. had ordered, in a general council, on this head, and commands it to be obſerved by all *. SECT. IX.

I have only given the heads of the decrees of this ſynod, as the Reader, who deſires a greater detail than the plan of this work would admit, may have recourſe to the original. A ſlender acquaintance with the ſpirit and diſcipline of Chriſtianity, in thoſe times when it moſt flouriſhed, will ſhew the juſtneſs of the obſervation, which I have quoted at the beginning of this article, that the LEGATE's deſign was to bring the frame of the *Engliſh* church as near, as the times could bear, to primitive practice. The reſemblance, likewiſe, of the decrees here made, to thoſe which the general council of *Trent* made on the ſame matters, is very remarkable. Nor can it be replied, that the LEGATE adopted what had been already ordained in that celebrated aſſembly; becauſe whatever has any affinity to the ſtatutes of the ſynod, was not regulated till the laſt ſeſſions of the council, which were held ſome years after the CARDI-

* There are two different editions of the Statutes of this national ſynod: one of which is preſerved in the *Cotton* and *Cambridge* libraries, and contains them as they were originally propoſed to the *Engliſh* clergy, under the title of *Legantine Conſtitutions of* CARDINAL POLE. Ex M. S. *Cott. Cleop* F. 2. fol. 72. collat. cum M. S. Synodal. in Coll. *Corpus Chriſti, Cantab.*

The other edition, which is fuller and more accurate, was publiſhed at *Rome*, four years after the CARDINAL's death, under the title of *The Reformation of* England. The edition which the author made uſe of, was printed from the *Roman* copy, and publiſhed at *Venice* by *Zileti*, in 1562. The acts of this ſynod have ſince been inſerted into the Collection of the Councils.

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NAL's death. But it is not improbable, that ſeveral of the Fathers, who aſſiſted at them, were acquainted with what he had ordered on matters which they were to regulate; and that they preſcribed to the whole Chriſtian world what he had approved of for one national church. This obſervation has no where greater force, than in what regards the eſtabliſhment of ſeminaries for the education of the clergy: an inſtitution which the Fathers judged of ſuch importance, that ſeveral of them, as has been related, at the cloſe of the council, ſaid, that all their pains would have been well employed, had this purpoſe alone been gained.

The ſmall number of articles, to which the LEGATE reduced a national reformation, and the plainneſs and ſimplicity with which they are lain down, ſhew the ſkilfulneſs of the hand that planed the deſign, no leſs than the propriety with which the choice is made. The whole is compriſed in twelve decrees, which are addreſſed to the clergy, and deſigned to form them to a regularity becoming the miniſtry they were intruſted with. He very well knew, was this point carried, the reformation of the whole nation would ſoon be the fruit of it: for the generality of mankind having neither opportunity nor diſpoſition to enter very far into the merits of the cauſe of religion, take their impreſſion, both as to belief and practice, from the character of thoſe who are appointed to be their guides. The Chriſtian moderation which appears through theſe ſtatutes, is a further recommendation of him who penned them. There is no order, nor the leaſt intimation given to the Biſhops or parochial clergy, to perſecute others, but to amend themſelves; and I ſhould do Dr. *Burnet* an injury not to acknowledge this remark to be his.

Hiſt. Ref. part 2, p. 326.

Several

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Several other of the LEGATE's ſynodical decrees, and ſuch like regulations, are come down to us; but as they throw no further light on his character, or on the ſtate of the nation as it ſtood related to him, it would be foreign to this work to ſwell it with them †.

The ſynod was ſummoned on the 2d of *December* 1555, and the matter having been thoroughly weighed before the meeting, the Biſhops and Clergy, who were aſſembled, found little more to do than to ſubſcribe to what had been regulated with ſo much wiſdom. But though the LEGATE's hand had directed the planning of the whole, reduced it to one character and colouring, and went over the ſeveral parts, and gave to each its finiſhing, yet he was deſirous the public ſhould receive this pledge of his ſolicitude for their wel-

† Articles to be propoſed to married Prieſts. *Anth. Harmer*, ſpecimen of errors, pag. 178.

Acts of a provincial ſynod of *Canterbury*.

Commiſſion and inſtruction given to the Dean and Chapter of *Canterbury*, as to diſpenſations, abſolutions, &c. *Ibid.* pag. 182. and *Strype*'s life of *Cranmer*, App. pag. 187.

The like, granted to the parochial Clergy, and others. *Harmer*.

Injunctions ſent in *Engliſh* to the Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, the LEGATE's delegate in that dioceſe: they contain ſeventeen articles which regard the Clergy, and as many the Laity, and are penned with the ſame goodneſs and diſcernment as the Legantine conſtitutions. Ex Append. Hiſt. *Rob. de Aveſbury*, edit. *Tho. Hearne*, pag. 376.

A regulation ſent to all the Biſhops, concerning the due uſe of confeſſion, choice of ghoſtly fathers, and other points of diſcipline; and regulations about money depoſited with Biſhops. Ex Reg. *Turberville*, *Exon.* fol. 18.

Concerning proceſſions. Ex *R. Pole*, fol. 27. a.

Theſe documents are collected in the 4th vol. Conc. *Mag. Brit.* by *Wilkins*, from page 109, to page 178.

General notes that were written unto all Byſhopes, and from them to be certified to my Lord CARDINAL POLE's Grace: M. S. now in the poſſeſſion of Mr. *Joſeph Sandford*, of *Baliol* College.

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fare, under the authority of a national ſynod, no leſs than his own.

A few days after the council ended, the LEGATE wrote to the King, that the Queen was deſirous the people ſhould be immediately informed of the decree made for an anniverſary thankſgiving for the nation's late reconciliation. "I went, ſays he, on the firſt Sunday of Advent to St. *Peter*'s, accompanied by the Biſhops and the whole body of the nobility, who, on account of the Parliament, are now in town, and was received in quality of LEGATE, as the cuſtom is, by the Archbiſhop of *York*, and a great number of eccleſiaſtics and of the people, with all the Clergy of that church. One of the Queen's chaplains, a man of learning and probity, ſet forth, in a very appoſite diſcourſe, the greatneſs of the benefit which a good God has been pleaſed, through your Majeſties means, to confer on this kingdom: and ſeveral are of opinion, that the readineſs which the nobility ſhewed to aſſiſt at the ſolemn maſs and proceſſion which were performed on this occaſion, has contributed as much towards confirming the minds of the people in the ancient doctrine, as all the ſermons of laſt year *." From this, and ſome other paſſages I have cited out of the Acts of the ſynod, it appears, that though the *Roman* Catholic was the religion eſtabliſhed by law, and which the nation had received in the perſons of its Sovereign and repreſentatives, it was far from being the perſuaſion of all the people, whoſe tenets in general are repreſented by the LEGATE, as erroneous as their manners were corrupt: and when, in the ſynodical ſtatutes, he ſpeaks of the Clergy, it is every where with ſuch diſparagement, as plainly indicates the little aſ-

* *R. Pol.* Epiſt. pars 3ta, pag. 55.

ſiſtance

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ſiſtance which was to be expected, either from the doctrine or example of ſuch miniſters. This, in ſome meaſure, accounts for the quick defection from what was now profeſſed, which happened two years after, under Queen *Elizabeth*, when, though all the Biſhops, one excepted, choſe to be deprived of their Sees, rather than conform to the changes which then took place; and Lord Viſcount *Montague* in the upper Houſe, and Mr. *Atkins* in the lower, and a few others, behaved with the like conſtancy: yet both Lords and Commons came unanimouſly into the meaſures of that Princeſs, in the very firſt Parliament of her reign.

Sir *Anth. Brown.*

## SECT. X.

*The* LEGATE *endeavours to reclaim* Cranmer, *under Sentence of Death, from his Errors. His Lenity towards thoſe who had left the Communion of the See of* Rome. *He is conſecrated Archbiſhop of* Canterbury; *and choſen Chancellor of the Univerſities of* Oxford *and* Cambridge. *Anecdotes of his private Life.*

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THE following year was ſignalized by a puniſhment, in the particulars of which, and in the character of the perſon, on whom it was inflicted, this hiſtory, for reaſons which the narrative will bring me to, is ſufficiently intereſted to require I ſhould be circumſtantial on both theſe heads. *Thomas Cranmer*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, had been one of the chief promoters of *Henry*'s ſeparation from *Catharine* of *Aragon*, mother to the Queen; and had, moreover, pronounced the ſentence of divorce. He had ſubſcribed, in the latter part of *Edward*'s reign, to the change of the ſettlement made by parliament, and ſet aſide the Princeſſes *Mary* and *Elizabeth* in favour of the houſe of *Suffolk*; and, on that young Prince's deceaſe, was one of thoſe who put up Lady *Jane*'s title, and his name was at the head of that treaſonable and reproachful declaration, in which the legitimacy of his Sovereign's birth was denied, and ſhe commanded to deſiſt

deſiſt from any pretenſions to the crown, and retire to a private life; and he had aggravated theſe miſdemeanors by ſpreading ſeditious libels, and raiſing tumults. "After a long and ſerious debate of the Privy Council, he was committed, in the beginning of *September* 1553, to the Tower, to remain there, or be referred to juſtice, according to the Queen's pleaſure *." Being brought to his trial on the third of *November* following, he pleaded guilty to the indictment, and ſubmitted himſelf to the Queen's mercy; on which he was attainted of high treaſon, and the ſentence confirmed by Act of Parliament †. Though the See of *Canterbury*, by this Attainder, was become void in law, it was not yet declared vacated; and *Cranmer*, till he was degraded, was conſidered as Archbiſhop: the revenues only were ſequeſtered, and the criminal ſent back to the Tower.

The perſonal injury which each of theſe offences included was more than enough to ſtir up all the reſentment of a woman, and a Queen; and yet it is probable the execution of this ſentence would not have taken place, had not *Mary* been more diſpoſed to avenge the wrongs done to the religion ſhe profeſſed, than the treaſon committed againſt herſelf: for of ſo many who had oppoſed her title at the beginning of her reign, we have already ſeen how few were put to death.

A public diſputation between the Catholic and Proteſtant divines being held, ſoon after, at *Oxford*, *Cranmer*, by the Queen's warrant, was removed from the Tower to that city, in order to be preſent at it. Here he denied the real and corporal preſence of CHRIST's body in the holy Euchariſt, and aſſerted ſeveral other tenets which he *Apr.* 1554.

* *Collier*'s Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, vol. 2. b. 5. page 347.

† Anno 1° *Mar.* ch. 16.

had

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had before maintained, and were contrary to the Catholic doctrine. Two days after the conferences were ended, he was required by Dr. *Weſton*, and the other deputies of the convocation, who preſided at them, to abjure his errors, and ſubſcribe to the Catholic faith; and on refuſal was unanimouſly declared to be a heretic, and ſent back to priſon, where he remained till his execution, which was put off for two years.

20th *April.*

During his confinement the LEGATE made repeated eſſays to recall him to the paths of truth; and, on the promiſes and hopes he gave, had obtained frequent reſpites of his execution, which was reſolved, it ſeems, though the time not determined *. Among other inſtances of his ſolicitude to reclaim him from his errors, particularly as to what regarded the Euchariſt, is a long and excellent letter, which is one of the moſt complete pieces of controverſy that ever was penned on this characteriſtic article of the Catholic religion; and being dictated from the heart, no leſs than the head, is equally addreſſed to both. At the ſame time, he tells *Cranmer*, he entertained but ſlender hopes that what he alleged would have its due weight with him, ſince what the learned Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Fiſher*, had wrote on that ſubject, and the late conferences at *Oxford*, had only contributed to harden and make him more obſtinate; and that this had happened, not thro' any want of ability on the part of thoſe who would have withdrawn him from darkneſs, but becauſe his weak and ſickly optics could not ſupport the lively ray of truth, whoſe light only blinded him more. He proves to him, that his mind, in its preſent ſituation, was incapable of underſtanding theſe doctrines; ſince he was neither enlightened

* Vita *Poli*, fol. 34, à tergo.

as

as a teacher, nor endowed with the teachableneſs of a ſcholar. That the errors he was fallen into, were the effect and puniſhment of the diſorders of his paſt life; having been raiſed to prelacy, in order to gratify the paſſions of his Prince, and having, on all occaſions, anſwered this ſhameful purpoſe. He takes notice of the endleſs evils he had brought on the nation, of his prevarications in religion, his perjuries and ſenſuality: by all which crimes he had drawn on himſelf the ſevereſt chaſtiſement of an angry Deity, and been delivered up to a reprobate ſenſe †. SECT. X.

Though the LEGATE takes frequent opportunities in the letter I have cited, to give *Cranmer* every ſignification of good will, and the ſenſe he had of his misfortunes, he reſumes the ſubject in a ſecond letter, in which he expreſſes himſelf in this remarkable manner: "that his concern for him, and the deſire of his welfare was ſuch (he called God to witneſs) that was there any means of reſcuing him from that terrible ſentence of death, which, unleſs he returned to his duty and a right mind, hung over both body and ſoul, he would moſt willingly prefer it to all the honours and emoluments which can befal any one in this life *.

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† The original of this letter, which was written in *Latin*, is preſerved in the *French* King's library, M. S. v. 10213, page 43, and has been tranſlated into *French* by Monſ. *le Grand*, and added to the firſt tome of his Hiſtory of the Divorce; from whence it was inſerted into Cardinal *Quirini*'s collection of the author's letters, part 5th, page 238.

* Ea eſt mea ſalutis tuæ cura et ſtudium, ut ſi te ab horribili illâ, quæ tibi, niſi reſipiſcas, impendet non ſolum corporis, ſed etiam animæ mortis ſententiâ, ullo modo liberare poſſem, id profectò omnibus divitiis atque honoribus, qui cuiquam in hâc vitâ obtingere poſſint (Deum teſtor, libentiſſimè anteponerem.

Notwithſtanding

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The time when the ſentence was to be executed was now at hand. He had been condemned, as has been ſaid, two years before, for treaſonable practices againſt his Sovereign's title and perſon, and had received ſentence of death, which was confirmed by the legiſlature. His miſdeeds in a caſe of a higher and more divine order had been lately examined at that tribunal, to which, by way of excellence, ſuch inqueſts belong, and to which all ages have ever referred them. Here his offences had been found of ſuch a nature as to injure religion in her vital part, and to draw on the offender all the cenſures and puniſhments ſhe can inflict.

The Pope, at the King's and Queen's requeſt, had appointed the Cardinal of St. *Simeon* to examine *Cranmer*'s cauſe; and he had nominated the
Dr. *Brooks.* Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, and whoever he ſhould think

Notwithſtanding this ſolemn declaration, and the LEGATE's precedent behaviour, which was conſonant to it, Doctor *Burnet*, without the leaſt grounds, or even pretending to allege any authority, is not aſhamed to advance (*Hiſt. Reform.* part 2, p. 327.) that CARDINAL POLE's impatience to get into the See of *Canterbury*, cauſed him to haſten *Cranmer*'s death; and that this and his paſſive behaviour in the perſecution carried on againſt heretics, were the only ſtains in his life.

But ſurely the Biſhop of *Saliſbury* could not but imagine the reader would expect ſomething more than his bare aſſertion to give credit to ſo foul an aſperſion on ſuch a character. And had this excellent perſon been capable of the act of blood and ambition he is here charged with, and haſtened the death of *Cranmer*, however guilty both in his public and private life, in order to make room for himſelf, far from being the perſon the Biſhop every where elſe repreſents him, he would have been more exceptionable than the criminal, whoſe puniſhment he procured.

Beſides, *Cranmer* was found guilty of treaſon long before the CARDINAL came to *England*; and was therefore dead in law, and incapable of holding the leaſt church benefice; and on the CARDINAL's return to his country, he had been put in poſſeſſion of the revenues of the Archbiſhopric, which, on *Cranmer*'s condemnation, were ſequeſtered.

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fit to join in the commiſſion, to try the criminal. The court of delegates was opened in St. *Mary*'s church, in *Oxford*; and the Biſhop ſet forth, in a long diſcourſe, the crimes of which *Cranmer* was accuſed; and namely his apoſtaſy, hereſy and incontinence; he made mention alſo of his treaſon. To which *Cranmer* replied, by diſowning any ſubmiſſion to the Pope, and charging the See of *Rome* with doctrines and practices contrary to the Goſpel. As the examination became more particular, the criminal was accuſed of keeping a wife ſecretly in *Henry*'s reign, and openly in *Edward*'s; of publiſhing heretical books, and conſtraining others to ſubſcribe to them; of forſaking the Catholic church, and denying CHRIST's preſence in the ſacrament of the altar; and lately of diſputing publicly againſt it at *Oxford*. All theſe articles he confeſſed, and excepted only againſt having forced others to ſubſcribe, which he ſaid he had never done *. This information being taken, he was ſent back to priſon.

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12th *Sept.* 1555.

The report was made to *Rome*, and having been reviſed by a committee of the ſacred college, the Pope pronounced the following ſentence: "That he had found *Thomas Cranmer*, formerly Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, guilty of ſeveral offences againſt the eccleſiaſtical decrees and rules of the holy Fathers, the traditions of the church of *Rome*, the councils, and the rites which had hitherto been received by the univerſal church; and particularly that he had held and taught a doctrine concerning the Sacraments of the body and blood of JESUS CHRIST, and holy orders, contrary to what had been always taught and believed; and had diſowned the primacy of the holy See, and the papal authority: that he had aſſerted the proceed-

* *Burnet*, Hiſt. Reformat. part 2, page 331.

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ings of the church of *Rome*, in the ſolemn condemnation of heretics, and their reſpective errors, to be unlawful; and had himſelf revived thoſe of *Berengarius* and *Wickliffe*, and abetted thoſe of *Luther*. The Pope in particular declares, he had maintained theſe doctrines in his anſwers to the interrogatories made by his Holineſs's ſubdelegate, the Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, and obſtinately perſiſted in them. For theſe reaſons he excommunicates and anathematizes him, deprives him of the Archbiſhopric of *Canterbury*, and all eccleſiaſtical privileges, commands his effects to be confiſcated, and himſelf to be degraded and delivered up to the ſecular power. When this is done, their Majeſties are required to proceed as the law directs †."

19th *Jan.* 1555-6. *Bonner* and *Thirleby.*

The decree is directed to *Philip* and *Mary*, King and Queen of *England*, and to the Biſhops of *London* and *Ely*, as to the perſons who were to execute it*. In conſequence of this ſentence, the Biſhops came down to *Oxford*, accompanied by the Doctors *Martin* and *Story*, as the King and Queen's proctors; and *Cranmer* being brought before them, their commiſſion was read, which declared him guilty of the crimes he had been charged with, and required them to degrade him. During this awful ceremony he perſiſted in denying the papal juriſdiction, and appealed to a future council. After the degradation and ſentence of death, he was removed to the Dean's lodgings at *Chriſt Church*, and no kind of exhortation omitted to prevail on him to ſecure his laſt ſtake by a ſincere repentance, and to retract his errors; which per-

14th *Feb.*

† Poſtquam curiæ ſeculari traditus fuerit, id, quod juris fecerit, fieri mandetis.

* The decree, in which this ſentence is contained, may be ſeen, at full length, in *Wilkins*'s Conc. *Mag. Brit.* vol. 4, pag. 132. who tranſcribed it from *Fox*, vol. 3, pag. 997, edit. 1641.

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haps might alſo move their Majeſties to reverſe his doom, and pardon him. The proſpect of this grace, and the dread of death, againſt which, it ſeems, neither the conſciouſneſs of a well-ſpent life, nor the goodneſs of the cauſe in which he was to die, had armed him, cauſed him to ſign a memorial, in which he abjured the errors of *Luther* and *Zuingle*, acknowledged the Pope's ſupremacy, the ſeven Sacraments, CHRIST's corporal preſence in the Euchariſt, Purgatory, and prayer for departed ſouls, and the invocation of ſaints. He likewiſe deſired thoſe who had been led aſtray by his doctrine and example, to return to the unity of the Catholic church, and proteſted he did this of his own free motion, and for the diſcharge of his conſcience *. SECT. X.

Soon after their Majeſties ordered the Lord High Chancellor to make out a writ for his execution, which is directed to the Mayor and Bailiffs of *Oxford*; and *Cranmer* had again renewed his ſubſcription, and tranſcribed a fair copy of the whole: but having ſome miſgivings of his approaching puniſhment, he ſecretly wrote another declaration of what his real tenets were, which contradicted, in every point, the doctrine he had before ſigned, and carried it about with him. Being brought out to execution, Dr. *Cole*, Provoſt of *Eton*, was appointed to preach on this occaſion, and he ſummed up, in a very pathetic diſcourſe, "the chief diſorders of the unhappy offender's life, and particularly inſiſted on the miſeries, in which his contrivance and perſuaſion had involved his country. The divorce he had made between the King and *Catharine* of *Aragon*, and the blemiſh which he had caſt on the iſſue of the latter. That he had not only ſigned away the crown from her 24th *Feb.*

* The recantation is cited at full length by *Collier*.

preſent

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preſent Majeſty, but done it in very abuſive and inſulting terms. That he had inſlaved the church and ſacerdotal dignity to the ſecular power, and had frequently been guilty of the moſt flagitious hypocriſy in the great concern of religion, and had never ceaſed to ſtir up ſchiſmatics, heretics, and rebels, and had violated all laws human and divine. He concluded, by addreſſing his diſcourſe to *Cranmer*, and extolled that mercy which had lately brought him to a ſenſe and acknowledgment of his faults, and encouraged him to receive the puniſhment due to them with a Chriſtian reſignation, as the means to atone for them, and obtain a happy eternity *."

When *Cranmer* ſaw there was no further hopes of pardon, he retracted whatever he had ſubſcribed to, declared it was contrary to truth, and that the fear of death, and deſire of living, had prevailed on him to act in this manner. Being brought to the ſtake, he expreſſed great reſentment againſt his right hand, for having ſigned the Catholic doctrine, and thruſt it into the flames, in which his body was ſoon conſumed †.

However rigorous this proceeding may appear, the criminal, on whom the puniſhment was inflicted, would have objected to it with an ill grace. He had conſented to *Lambert*'s and *Anne Aſkew*'s death, who ſuffered, under *Henry*, for thoſe very opinions which himſelf held concerning the Euchariſt: and he had ſet the example, in *Edward*'s reign, of that very proceeding which was now retaliated upon himſelf: he ſat on *Joan Bocher*, condemned her as an obſtinate heretic,

* Sermon at the execution of *Cranmer*, *Hen. Cole*'s works, 8vo.

† *Fox*, Acts and Monum. edit. 1583, p. 1816. *Strype*, vita *Cranmeri*. *Burnet*, Hiſt. of the Reformat. part 2, page 331. *Thuanus*, lib. 17, p. 511. F. edit. *Aurelianæ*, 1620.

and

and delivered her up to the ſecular power, to be puniſhed *according to her deſerts*. He behaved in the ſame manner to *George van Par*, a *German* ſurgeon, and they were both burnt at the ſtake in *Smithfield* *. The Archbiſhop's behaviour on this occaſion was attended with an aggravation which creates horror: for, whereas the young King ſhewed a reluctance to ſign the warrant for the execution of theſe wretches, one of whom was more a Bedlamite than a Heretic, he ſolved his ſcruples, and prevailed on him to put his hand to it †. It is alſo to be obſerved, that theſe proceedings were carried on three years after the ſtatutes againſt heretics were repealed; and the ſentence is pronounced with all the pomp in which ſeverity and oſtentation can dreſs it up.

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2d *May*, 1550.

24th *April*, 1551.

I have only given an account of the particulars of *Cranmer*'s puniſhment, and of the crimes which occaſioned it: but the cauſe, which is termed the Reformation, of which he is conſidered as the principal author, may, perhaps, make a ſtill further account of him not unacceptable to the Reader's curioſity; and I could not interrupt the narrative of the laſt ſcene of his life, to exemplify in particular inſtances, what is related of him by Proteſtant hiſtorians, and will greatly elucidate what has been already ſaid ‡.

He was born of a reputable family in *Nottinghamſhire*; and being admitted into *Jeſus*' college,

* *Stow*'s Chron. page 604, 605. Reg. *Cran.* fol. 75, b. Ibid. fol. 78, a, and 79, a. Theſe proceedings may likewiſe be ſeen, at full length, *Wilkins*'s Conc. *Mag. Brit.* vol. 4, page 43, *et ſeq.*

† Dr. *Burnet* excuſes theſe actions in *Cranmer*, by ſaying, they did not proceed from cruelty of temper, *but were truly the effect of thoſe principles by which he governed himſelf.* Hiſt. Ref. part 2, page 111, 112.

‡ *Fox*, *Godwin*, de Præſ. *Angl.* *Strype*, Vita *Cran.* *Burnet*, Hiſt. Reformat.

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in *Cambridge*, was deprived of his fellowſhip for marrying; but, on his wife's death, he betook himſelf again to an academical life, and entered into holy orders, and was obſerved by Dr. *Fox* as a fit perſon to promote the divorce. He was afterwards chaplain to the Earl of *Wiltſhire*, father to *Anne Bullen*; and being recommended to the King as one zealous for his ſervice, was employed by him in foreign courts and univerſities. In *Germany* he became acquainted with *Oſiander*, one of the moſt profane and diſſolute wretches of the age, as both *Calvin* and *Melanćthon*, though engaged in the ſame party, repreſent him: and notwithſtanding the moſt ſolemn engagements to celibacy, which he had taken at his ordination, he married this reformer's neice. Here, likewiſe, he became acquainted with *Luther*'s tenets, "adopted his ſentiments, and was the moſt eſteemed of thoſe who embraced them *." On Archbiſhop *Warham*'s death, which happened whilſt *Cranmer* was abroad, the King named him to the See of *Canterbury*; and, on his return to *England*, whither his wife, though in ſecret, accompanied him, he was conſecrated according to the *Roman* ritual. The oath of obedience to the See of *Rome* is a rite obſerved on that occaſion, and *Cranmer* retired into a private place, and entered a proteſt againſt the oath he was going to take, and then took it. In whatſoever light common ſenſe and common honeſty muſt conſider this behaviour, two hiſtorians of note have repreſented it as an inſtance of fair dealing and ſincerity; and a third, who gives up the merit of the management, can only diſcover in it *ſomething of human*

*March*, 1533.

* *Burnet*, Hiſt. Reformat, part 1, p. 135.

*infirmity*.

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*infirmity* †." There was no abject compliance, as ſhall be exemplified a little lower, to which he did not let himſelf down, to flatter the paſſions of *Henry* VIII. and ſecure his own credit. After his return from *Germany*, he continued during the remaining part of that Prince's reign, which was thirteen years, in a conſtant diſſimulation of his religion, and a daily profeſſion and practice of what he diſbelieved; as the denial of the Pope's ſupremacy was yet the only article which divided *England* from the See of *Rome:* and *Henry* exacted a rigorous compliance with all the other terms of communion, which *Cranmer*, though a Lutheran, obſerved. In conſequence of this abandoned turn of mind, he ſubſcribed to the ſix famous articles, which contain ſo many points in which the reformers diſagree with the ancient doctrine, though he diſbelieved them all. But becauſe the celibacy of the prieſthood is inforced by one of them, under the penalty of death by fire, he ſent his wife back into *Germany*, where ſhe remained to the end of that reign.

At *Edward*'s acceſſion he threw off the maſk, and declared in favour of the Zuinglian and Calviniſtical principles, as they removed him at a ſtill greater diſtance from the Catholic belief, and were countenanced by the Protector. This he did of his own authority, before the Parliament had aboliſhed the ancient worſhip, and an uninformed *embryo* had been ſubſtituted in its ſtead. And here again he acted in direct oppoſition to the Lutheran tenets, which before he had imbibed and followed. In a great number of writings he left behind him, there is ſcarce one article of the Catholic church which he does not oppugn: he was

† *Echard*, Hiſt. of *England*, vol. 1, page 281. *Burnet*, Hiſt. Reformat. part 1, page 129. *Collier*, Church Hiſt. vol. 2, b. 1. page 74.

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ſo bent on extirpating every thing which could give the people a veneration for her authority, that he wrote a treatiſe againſt all traditions *: and though *Edward*'s reign had gone the lengths we have ſeen, in what was called *Reformation*, he never ceaſed to urge that young Prince to further changes, and to weary the public with ſchemes on that ſubject. In the ſame view he invited over foreign ſectaries, and however antichriſtian their tenets were, obtained for them churches, and recommended them to the favour of the crown, to profeſſorſhips, and other emoluments, every path being right to him which led the nation, of which he was Primate, aſtray †.

Though Dr. *Burnet* grants theſe facts, and the others which follow, he accounts for *Cranmer*'s conduct, with ſaying, "that in all this he did no more than his conſcience allowed him." I ſhall therefore aſk the Reader's leave to preſent him with the ſketch of a conſcience, which in a very

* Againſt unwritten verities.—An examination of moſt points of religion:—Concerning a further reformation.—Some conſiderations offered to *Edward* VI. to induce him to proceed to a further reformation.

† *Martin Bucer*, who was firſt a Lutheran, then a Zuinglian, was made divinity profeſſor at *Cambridge*.

*Paul Fagius*, *Hebrew* profeſſor at the ſame univerſity.

*P. Virmili*, or *Martyr*, who was a profeſſed Zuinglian, made divinity profeſſor at *Oxford*.

*J. à Laſco*, miniſter of the firſt *Dutch* church in *London*, beſides the errors of *Zuingle*, and other frenzies, found out twelve different meanings of the words of the inſtitution of the Euchariſt, and rejected baptiſm, which, he ſaid, was become an idolatry.

*B. Ochin*, who was employed with *Martyr* to compile the Liturgy, wrote a treatiſe in defence of polygamy, became a Socinian, and died the outcaſt of mankind, and an Atheiſt.

*Nigellinus*, *Tremellius*, *Valerand*, *P. Alexander*, and ſeveral others, who were Zuinglians and Calviniſts, and came to *England* in *Edward*'s reign.

different

different ſenſe from that of the Apoſtle, *became all to all*, and accommodated itſelf, without diſtinction, to every thing. SECT. X.

This faculty, therefore, which was given to diſcern good from evil, and induce us to act by this eſtimate, was ſo ductile in *Cranmer*, as to allow him to enſlave the church, of whoſe rights his ſtation obliged him to be the guardian to the ſecular power; and to ſubmit that authority, which her miniſters derive from JESUS CHRIST, to earthly potentates. He acknowledged *Henry* VIII. to be the ſole ſource of all ſpiritual juriſdiction, and that it was by his ſufferance that he, the primate, could judge and determine a meer ſpiritual cauſe; and, at his moſt humble requeſt, the king grants him this power in the commiſſion to proceed on the divorce*. On *Edward*'s acceſſion, he took out freſh patents for his Archbiſhopric, and acknowledged he held it revocable at the King's pleaſure; and a ſpecial licence was iſſued out from an infant to impower him, and the other Biſhops, to confer orders, and exerciſe the other epiſcopal functions†. He ſuffered *Cromwel*, though a layman, and utterly void of all eccleſiaſtical knowledge, to preſide at all the convocations of the clergy. The ſame latitude of principle permitted him to diſſolve two of the King's marriages, on pretexts notoriouſly falſe, and which had no other foundation than a change in *Henry*'s affections; and to ſign the death of the Admiral, brother to the Duke of *Somerſet*, without bringing him to trial. It permitted him, though a prieſt, and conſequently obliged to celibacy by the moſt ſolemn ties, to take a wife; and, *Catharine of Aragon, and Anne of Cleves.*

* The commiſſion is put down at length by *Collier*, Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. 2, among the collections, p. 15; and is taken from the original preſerved in the library of *Robert Harley*, Earl of *Oxford*.

† *Sanders, Heylin*, p. 82.

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in that condition, to accept of one of the firſt Sees of the Chriſtian world; and though a Lutheran, to take, at his conſecration, the oath of obedience to the Pope; to ſubſcribe to the ſix articles, which are ſo many condemnations of *Luther*'s tenets, and by which the maſs, the capital object of the Reformation's averſion, is approved. To offer up, during *Henry*'s reign, this ſacrifice, even for the repoſe of the dead; which, in his principles, he muſt have looked on as an abomination before God; and to ordain prieſts, on whom he conferred the ſame power. To exact, even from deacons, at their ordination, a ſolemn engagement to a ſingle life, to which, though an Archbiſhop, he did not think himſelf obliged. To pray to ſaints, who are departed in God's favour, and reign with his bleſſed Son; and to pay a reſpect to their repreſentations: though all theſe practices were abjured by the late doctrines, with which he had taken up. As yet I have only pointed out a part of the character of that conſcience, which, leopard like, was ſpotted all over. To conclude, this ductile conſcience allowed him, in hopes of ſaving his life, to abjure all the tenets he had hitherto profeſſed; and, when that proſpect failed, and he was brought to execution, to revoke that very abjuration, and to declare it was all a lie.

This perſon who, *Proteus* like, put on all appearances, and was then only taken when he returned to his own form, "had, if we credit Biſhop *Burnet*, as few faults, and as many eminent virtues, as any prelate for many ages*;" and "was put on a level, by thoſe who compared modern and ancient times, with the greateſt of the primitive fathers, not only a *Chryſoſtome*, an *Ambroſe*, and an

* Preface to the firſt part of the Hiſt. of the Reformat. laſt paragraph but one.

*Auſtin*,

*Auſtin*, but with thoſe of the firſt claſs, who im- SECT. mediately followed the apoſtles, an *Ignatius*, a X. *Polycarp*, and a *Cyprian* †." If there really were any ſuch perſons who made this compariſon, the Biſhop has ſpared their memory, by ſuppreſſing their names: but it was the higheſt inſult on the ſenſe and morals of his readers, to ſuppoſe them ſuſceptible of ſo groſs an impoſition; unleſs he imagined that what is called *Popery* has the ſame power over the minds of men, as *Circe*'s wand had on the companions of *Ulyſſes*, to deprive them of their reaſon. As for the Biſhop himſelf, he

† Hiſt. Reformat. part 2, page 336.

Our other writers, who agree in the facts I have related, have yet beſtowed every commendation on a perſon whom they have ſingled out as the main pillar of the reformation, of which Mr. *Guthrie* ſtyles *Cranmer* the father.

Mr. *Hume* ſays, he was undoubtedly a man of merit—adorned with candor and ſincerity, and all thoſe virtues which were fitted to make him uſeful and amiable in ſociety—that his moral qualities procured him univerſal reſpect; and the courage of his martyrdom made him the hero of the proteſtant party.

The *Biogr. Brit.* ſays, "He muſt be allowed to be the glory of *England*, and one of the chief founders of the reformation."

I might quote a volume of the like eulogies heaped on him by *Fox*, *Strype*, &c.

The founder few, however, have had too juſt a regard to that decency which every one owes himſelf, to fall into ſuch extravagancies. The celebrated Mr. *Prinne*, keeper of the records in the Tower, under *Charles* II. accuſes him of perjury; of cruelty in burning the profeſſors of the goſpel; of being the chief author of all the calamities of *Henry* the Eighth's reign, and of ſubverting the church, and repreſents him as an hypocrite, an apoſtate, and rebel *.

Dr. *Fuller*, who has undertaken *Cranmer*'s defence, is at a loſs how to reply to any of the nine articles which Mr. *Prinne* lays to his charge, moſt of which he gives up, and ſays, in a homely phraſe, he will leave him, where he is guilty, to ſink or ſwim by himſelf. *Church Hiſt.* b. 5, page 186.

* *Prinne*, Antipathy of prelacy and monarchy.

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muſt have drank to the dregs of that intoxicating cup, with which the lying prophets are drenched, to give out ſuch abſurdities, and expect they ſhould be credited.

The ſeverity I have related was not exerciſed on *Cranmer* alone. Two hundred and ſeventy perſons, during this reign, underwent the like puniſhment, at different times, and in different parts of the kingdom; of whom an hundred and fifty were put to death, or died in priſon, after *Cranmer*'s execution *. A great number of theſe unhappy perſons ſuffered in the dioceſe of *London*, of which *Bonner* was biſhop, who is repreſented as the chief incendiary of that flame; and *London* being the capital, was likewiſe the theatre where the delinquents were chiefly to make their appearance. Great moderation was uſed in other parts of the kingdom: not one was put to death in the dioceſe of *Canterbury*, after CARDINAL POLE was promoted to that See: one only in that of *York*, of which Dr. *Heath* was Archbiſhop, and very few in the four *Welch* dioceſes: one in each of thoſe of *Wells*, *Exeter*, *Peterborough*, and *Lincoln*, tho' this be the moſt extenſive in *England*: two in that

* *John Fox* is the original author, from whom this account is taken, which has been very accurately examined by the learned father *Parſons*, who lived very near thoſe times, and has ſhewn that great abatements are to be made in what the compiler of the acts and monuments ſays, as to the number, behaviour, and cauſe of the ſufferers—that he has advanced many and manifeſt falſhoods, and made himſelf ſuſpected of ſtill more: which cauſed an ingenuous and eminent divine of the church of *England* to paſs this cenſure on him, "that where he produces records, he may be credited; but as to other relations he was of very ſlender authority."

Poſt *Thomæ Cranmeri* mortem uſque ad *Mariæ* obitum, ob religionem qui ſupplicio affecti ſunt, aut damnati in carcere perierunt, per varias regni civitates, oppida, caſtella numerati ſunt à curioſis uſque ad DLXXVI. *Thuanus* hiſt. lib. xvii. p. 512, C. edit. *Aurelian.* anni 1620.

of

of *Ely*, and three in each of thoſe of *Briſtol* and *Saliſbury*; and none in thoſe of *Oxford*, *Glouceſter*, *Worceſter*, and *Hereford* ‡. SECT. X.

The ſtatutes, on which thoſe who ſuffered were tried and condemned, were thoſe of *Richard* II. and *Henry* IV. and V. and they ſet forth, that the occaſion on which they were made, "was the errors which ſprang up againſt the ancient faith of the church, to which both Houſes of Parliament obſerve the diſtinguiſhed attachment of the *Engliſh* above all other nations. The liberty which itinerant preachers gave themſelves of travelling from place to place and broaching falſe doctrine. That they, likewiſe, raiſed commotions againſt the King, the ſafety of the realm, and all order in ſociety, inſomuch, that their tenets were not only heretical, but ſeditious. The ſtatutes, therefore, or the ſheriffs, and other civil magiſtrates, to ſeize on all ſuch offenders, and bring them before their ordinary; and on being found guilty, they are to be put to death, or puniſhed according to the nature and degree of the offence."

Theſe ſtatutes had been repealed in the late reign, and the reaſons for reviving them in this ſeem, in great meaſure, to have been the ſame which cauſed them to be firſt enacted, the preſervation and peace of the ſtate againſt their attempts, who, under the pretence of conſcience, would have ſubverted it. The candour of proteſtant writers, in relating theſe provocations, makes it needleſs to ſearch for any proof of them elſewhere than in their works. I have already ſpoken of the treaſonable practices againſt the Queen's title, by the innovators, which were preceded by ſeveral hardſhips which ſhe had endured all her brother's reign, from the ſame principles:

‡ *Heylin*, Hiſt. Reformat. page 226.

theſe

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theſe were ſucceeded by *Wiat*'s rebellion, who was a profeſſed Calviniſt. Notwithſtanding this, two years of her reign had paſſed without any thing which had the air of perſecution on account of religion. A proclamation indeed had been publiſhed, commanding all foreigners, who had fled their country for hereſy, murder, treaſon, and other crimes, to leave the realm, where they had abetted the late rebellion, and were a public nuſance: but this proceeding cannot come under the name of perſecution.

Anno 1. *Mariæ.*

The provocations I am ſpeaking of, and which followed very faſt one on the other, were treaſonable practices againſt the government, and indignities offered to the religion the Sovereign profeſſed, and to the Queen's perſon, on no other account but becauſe ſhe profeſſed it. An aſſaſſin attempted to take away her life, and, when he came to execution, juſtified the fact *. Another perſonated King *Edward*, that he might diſpute her title ‡. Her preacher was ſhot at in the pulpit at St. *Paul*'s, and her chaplains mobbed and pelted in the ſtreets. When public prayers were ordered on a ſuppoſition of her pregnancy, a reformed clergyman made uſe of this form, "that it would pleaſe God either to turn her heart from idolatry, or to ſhorten her days;" and when ſeveral who met at this aſſembly were taken up, Biſhop *Hooper* comforted them by letter, as ſuffering ſaints ‖. A dog's head was ſhaved, in contempt of the clerical tonſure; and, by an impiety which I have a difficulty to repeat, a wafer was put into a dead cat's paws, in deriſion of the holy ſacrament, and hung up at *Cheapſide*.

* *Collier*'s Church Hiſt. vol. 2. b. 5. page 380.
‡ *Fox*, Coll. vol. 2. b. 5. page 374.
‖ *Stow*'s Chron. page 624.

Pretended

Pretended revelations, and the forgery of the ſpirit in the wall, were employed to diſturb the government, and diſcredit the maſs and confeſſion. Theſe, and the like impieties, were followed by overt acts of rebellion, of which an attempt to rob the treaſury, the inſurrection in the north, and the ſeizure of *Scarborough* caſtle to favour a *French* invaſion, are inſtances *.

Many *Engliſh* proteſtants, as they are now termed, though they were chiefly Zuinglians and Calviniſts, at this time left their native country, and retired into different parts of *Germany* and *Switzerland*. Here they as little agreed among themſelves in doctrine and diſcipline, as they formerly had with that church, whoſe communion they forſook; and ſet up the puritan faction, againſt rites and ceremonies; the preſbyterian, againſt epiſcopacy; and the independent, againſt paſtors in general. Thoſe who retired to *Geneva*, publiſhed a new tranſlation of the bible into the *Engliſh* tongue, in which, to ſay nothing of the errors in point of religion, there were ſeveral notes which the civil magiſtrate muſt have looked on as dangerous and ſeditious. Theſe ſtrange proceedings gave the *Germans* the like opinion of theſe ſuffering confeſſors, they had already had of thoſe whom the reformed *Engliſh* ſtyled martyrs; to whom, indeed, they gave the ſame appellation, but with an epithet too groſs to find place here †.

How the LEGATE behaved in theſe tranſactions, we learn from one who was his ſecretary, and who publiſhed his life in a country where he could be under no influence to repreſent his

* *Heylin*, Hiſt. Reſtor. page 234.

† Ambaſſades des *Noailles*, tom. 4. pag. 343, &c. tom. 5. p. 335. *Heylin*, page 59, *Collier*, vol. 2, b. 5. page 401.

Lord's

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Lord's behaviour, as to the point in queſtion, otherwiſe than it really was; and at a time when all ſuch miſrepreſentation would have anſwered no purpoſe, but to expoſe the writer: and he informs us, the CARDINAL uſed his beſt endeavours, that the ſectaries, who were ſtill very numerous, notwithſtanding many had left their country, might be treated with lenity, and no capital puniſhment be inflicted on them; and though he could not hinder the judicial proceedings againſt ſuch as were convicted of hereſy, and his ſtation obliged him to diſcountenance doctrines, which were condemned by the laws of the ſtate, no leſs than by the truth of the goſpel: yet he often reminded the biſhops, to whoſe cogniſance theſe cauſes were brought in the firſt inſtance, that they were fathers as well as judges. When there was room for clemency towards any who were condemned to death, he interceded in their behalf. He diſcourſed with ſeveral who were engaged in error, and accommodated himſelf to their various circumſtances, "and made himſelf a ſervant to all, that he might gain the more; to the weak he became as weak, that he might gain the weak: he made himſelf all things to all men, that he might ſave all." 1 *Cor.* chap. xi. By this Chriſtian condeſcenſion he reclaimed, among others, Sir *John Cheek*, whoſe reputation and ſkill in the *Latin* and *Greek* languages, had recommended him to be preceptor to *Edward* VI *.

This behaviour has ſo prepoſſeſſed a writer of our own country, though utterly averſe to the CARDINAL's religious tenets, in favour of his humane and benevolent diſpoſition, as to give us a debate, in which Biſhop *Gardiner* is introduced as ſpeaking in ſupport of perſecution, and the LE-

* Vita *Poli*, fol. 33.

GATE

GATE againſt it †. But the author's ingenuity, which is very great, has ſupplied the whole argument, of which I have found no trace in hiſtory. SECT. X.

Another celebrated perſonage, whoſe name is very high in the catalogue of our preſent favourite hiſtorians, and his authority very great, and who lived near the times I am ſpeaking of, being born only three years before the CARDINAL'S death, deſcribes him much in the ſame light in which the writer of his life repreſents him; and, in the intereſting paſſage I am about to quote, he deſcribes himſelf *.

" I am obliged, ſays he, in a letter to his intimate friend, the Cardinal Biſhop of *Augſhourg*, to publiſh, in my own defence, the work *on the church's unity*, which the moſt earneſt ſolicitations of my friends have not yet prevailed on me to do. This is owing to my being attacked with great virulence by one I never ſaw, and have no other knowledge of, than from the ſlanders he has thought fit to publiſh concerning me ‡. To make me odious, he repreſents me of a cruel and unrelenting nature, and attributes whatever I have done to reconcile the Emperor and the King of *France*, to a view of uniting their joint forces againſt the Lutherans. I need only appeal to you, my Lord, and to all who are acquainted with me, how little I deſerve, either from principle or temper, this imputation. At the ſame time, I

† *Hume*, Hiſt. of the *Tudors*, vol. 1. page 374.

* Quanquam invitus faceret CARDINALIS POLUS, cui religionis negotium commiſſum erat, ut in eos, quorum ſalutem tanto ſtudio quæreret, duriùs animadvertere cogeretur; quippe qui cogitabat, quod etiam ſæpius dicere auditus eſt, ſe ac cæteros epiſcopos non ſolùm judices adverſus pravè de religione ſentientes, ſed patres eſſe conſtitutos. *Thuanus*, Hiſt. lib. 17. p. 512. C.

‡ This was *Verger*, of whom mention has been made, vol. I. page 149. in the note.

do

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do not deny, but, the caſe ſuppoſed of any one's opinions being extremely pernicious, and he no leſs induſtrious to corrupt others than depraved himſelf, I might ſay, ſuch a one ſhould be capitally puniſhed, and, as a rotten member, cut off from the body. But it was my conſtant declaration, that this remedy was not to be applied, till every gentler method had been made uſe of; and I was ſo far from thinking that cures ſhould begin by amputation, or any other ſeverity, that, on all occaſions, both in public and private, when I was to give my opinion, it always was in the manner I have mentioned. This fact is ſo notorious, that, on account of my lenity in puniſhing erroneous doctrines, I have hardly eſcaped a ſuſpicion of favouring their cauſe whoſe perſons I ſcreened. When I preſided at the council of *Trent*, where ſentence was to be pronounced on all who had renounced the doctrine of the church, and the obedience due to her, there was no point I more frequently inculcated, than that, although we were the judges of ſuch cauſes and perſons, we were likewiſe fathers; by which name alone thoſe are called who aſſiſt at councils, whilſt that of judge is ſuppreſſed: and this was to remind us to behave in ſuch a manner, as in all our decrees, there might be ſtill ſome mark of paternal affection: that thoſe who left our communion, though they were avowed enemies, yet ought not to be conſidered by us in that light; that they were ſtill our children, and as ſuch to be treated with the tenderneſs which the name claimed. Nor was this my opinion alone, but that of my collegues, and the judgment of the whole council, who readily came into the ſame ſentiments *."

* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 4ta, pag. 156.

The

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The only exception which has been made, with any foundation, to this general character of CARDINAL POLE, is a commiſſion iſſued out on occaſion of ſeveral pernicious doctrines that were taught and propagated in the dioceſe of *Canterbury*; and, leſt the ſuppreſſion of it may ſeem to proceed from any apprehenſion of prejudicing his memory, ſincerity obliges me to take notice of it.

The perſons to whom it is directed, are required to inform themſelves of the fact, and have it certified by oath, in the manner the law directs in ſuch caſes; which is favourable to the criminal. They were to uſe their beſt endeavours to reclaim ſuch perſons; but if they remain obſtinate, they are to be excommunicated; and, if the atrociouſneſs of the crime requires it, delivered up to the civil magiſtrate *. In conſequence of which commiſſion, he informs their majeſties of ſome who had been convicted, and leaves them to be puniſhed as they deſerve †.

It is difficult to determine who were the moſt active in carrying on proſecutions of this kind, and exerting the literal ſeverity of laws, which ſeem chiefly deſigned to deter mankind from theſe criminal deviations from truth, by the ſeverity of the puniſhment denounced againſt them. The greater number of the Biſhops were men of great moderation, and averſe to ſuch meaſures, as appears by what has been ſaid in this work of ſome of them, and from the teſtimony given by proteſtant hiſtorians of the reſt, except *Bonner*, and a very few more. Some leading perſons about the court ſeem to have countenanced theſe

* Si facti atrocitas ita expoſceret. Ex *R. Pole*, fol. 29. b; and *Wilkins*, Conc. *Mag. Brit.* vol. 4. p. 173.

† Condignâ animadverſione plectendos relinquimus. Ex *Reg. Pole*, fol. 30. b; and *Wilkins*, as above, p. 174.

meaſures,

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measures, as neceſſary to ſecure the government; and to have armed the laws with all their terror againſt thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their inſults on religion and the miniſtry. *Philip*'s behaviour afterwards in the Low Countries, where the Duke of *Alva*, by his orders, put ſuch numbers to death, makes it not improbable that he favoured proceedings, which, for political reaſons, he would be thought to diſapprove. As for the Queen, whoſe character I ſhall ſpeak to elſewhere, no one will wonder that her fondneſs for a huſband twelve years younger than herſelf, and her attachment not only to his perſon, but his family, from which ſhe deſcended by her mother, ſhould cauſe her to aſſent to what he was inclined to. Something, likewiſe, muſt be given to the temper of the times; which, however, neither began with this Princeſs, nor ended with her: and yet the bloody reign of Queen *Mary* alone is ſtill the diſmal ditty of every nurſery, and we may ſay of it what the poet does of the threadbare ballads of his days;

*Cui non dictus* Hylas *puer, et* Latonia Delos?

But far from retaliating this objection on her ſucceſſor, who made actions of mere religious import, treaſon and felony, and puniſhed thoſe who performed them accordingly, I would chooſe to treat this ſubject in ſuch a manner as to cover heats, not ſpread and perpetuate them.

Having related the hiſtorical facts which concern theſe penalties, I muſt aſk the Reader's leave to add a few reflections which elucidate the ſtate of the queſtion, and belong to this part of CARDINAL POLE's hiſtory, no leſs than the facts themſelves. I have already ſhewn, that what gave occaſion to enact penal laws againſt heretics in former

reigns, and to renew them in this, was the open rebellion againſt the government, to which this licentiouſneſs of opinions gave birth, as well as to the manifeſt ſubverſion of the catholic doctrine. This cauſed the legiſlature to conſider hereſy not only as a grievous ſin againſt almighty God, but as a hainous crime againſt the ſtate: and as the cogniſance of it belonged to the church, Biſhops were required to examine thoſe who were accuſed of it; and, if they were found guilty, to deliver them over to the ſecular power. But it muſt be obſerved, that theſe ſtatutes are laws of the *Engliſh* realm, not canons of the catholic church, and no more make part either of her faith or diſcipline, than the hardſhips debtors undergo in our common goals, or the ſame puniſhment being aſſigned to murder, and to the larceny of five ſhillings, can be imputed to the church of *England*. Nor can it be replied, that theſe ſeverities have ſtill place in ſeveral countries where the Catholic religion prevails; as it is no argument againſt the general humanity and equity of *Engliſh* proteſtants, that the uſages I have mentioned are the ſtatute law, where the reformed is the eſtabliſhed religion. The Catholic Church is ſo far from adjudging heretics to corporal puniſhment, much leſs to death, that all her criminal proceedings againſt ſuch as are accuſed of hereſy, ceaſe when the cauſe is cleared up, and her puniſhments extend no further than the ſpiritual ſtate of the offender. I ſhall exemplify this in as ſolemn an inſtance of the church's juriſdiction as the caſe admits; and exerted by a pope as jealous of his prerogative as ever filled the pontifical throne: this was *Paul* IV, who, in his decree of *Cranmer*'s condemnation, which is directed to *Phlip* and *Mary*, "only requires them to deal with him, after he is delivered up to the ſecular court, as the law di-

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rects*," without the leaſt inſinuation of any bodily puniſhment. The ſame ſentence, in ſimilar caſes, is ſo univerſally underſtood not to extend to mutilation, or taking away the life of the delinquent, that the biſhop, or whoever delivers him to the civil magiſtrate, always concludes the proceedings of the ſpiritual court in this manner; "We beſeech you, with all earneſtneſs, that, for the love of almighty God, and on the motive of compaſſion, and becauſe we aſk it of you, that you will not condemn this miſerable perſon to death, or the loſs of his limbs†." The laws of *England*, at the time I am ſpeaking of, puniſhed hereſy with death, but the church is not accountable for laws which ſhe did not eſtabliſh, and leaves their execution to whom it belongs. The ſecular judge every where proceeds on the ſame ſuppoſition, and in the writ for *Cranmer*'s execution, the King and Queen expreſsly take notice, "that the criminal being condemned for hereſy, and degraded; as the church neither had, nor ought to proceed any further in the affair, he was delivered over to them, the King and Queen, *according to the laws and cuſtoms of the realm, provided in ſuch caſes*, and condemned to be burnt, in deteſtation of his guilt, and for a warning to other Chriſtians‡."

* Poſtquam curiæ ſeculari traditus fuerit, id quod juris eſt, fieri mandetis. Ex bulla *Pauli* IV. *Wilkins*'s Conc. *Mag. Brit.* vol. 4th, page 132.

† Ibid. pag. 136.

‡ Et cùm etiam mater Eccleſia non habet quod ulteriùs in hac parte faciat, aut facere debeat. . . . . Juxta leges et conſuetudines Regni noſtri *Angliæ* damnatum et degradatum comburi facietis, in hujuſmodi criminis deteſtationem, et aliorum Chriſtianorum exemplum manifeſtum. Ibid. pag. 140. Ex Rot. Pat. 2° et 2° *Phil.* et *Mar.* pars 2.

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The LEGATE had already, on *Cranmer*'s being condemned as a heretic, and his See declared to be vacated, been appointed adminiſtrator of the archbiſhopric, and the revenues were aſſigned to him. At the ſame time, he had received the rank of Cardinal Prieſt of the Church of St. *Mary* in *Coſmedin*, of which he was before only Cardinal Deacon, and was now both Prieſt and Prelate *. But on *Cranmer*'s execution, the Queen nominated him to the See of *Canterbury*, as ſhe had before ſignified her intentions; and on his ſhewing the difficulty he had to accept of the offer, the Princeſs, who had the affair much at heart, having repreſented to him the exigences of the times, and the aid which the Church of her realm expected from his zeal, he acquieſced in the choice her Majeſty had made; and ſending *Goldwell*, Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, to *Rome*, on affairs of moment, and on this among the reſt, he informed the Pope, that if ſuch was his good pleaſure, he conſented to be conſecrated; but on this condition, that he ſhould be no more obliged to go to *Rome*, or be abſent from a poſt which required reſidence. Cardinal *Moron*, in quality of protector of *England*, as the cuſtom is, was to ſpeak to the character of the other prelates, whom the Queen had named to the vacant biſhoprics, and having performed this office for the reſt, the Pope, who had reſerved to himſelf the commendation of the Archbiſhop, began with a compliment to the Queen, and then diſcourſed on the CARDINAL in ſuch a ſtrain as nothing could be added to the panegyric; and concluded with ſaying, he owed this teſtimony to his learning, piety, and integrity, with which he had been long acquainted †.

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* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 5ta, pag. 142. Regiſt. *Poli*.
† Vita *Poli*, pag. 31.

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The CARDINAL, on the receiving the decree of his election to the See of *Canterbury*, wrote to the Pope in the following terms. "I have received, ſays he, from your Holineſs, the decree by which I am nominated to the See of *Canterbury*, and, at the firſt ſignification of it, I may truly ſay, that the greatneſs of the charge gave me a juſt diſtruſt of my ſufficiency to acquit myſelf of it, and would have deterred me from making ſuch an undertaking my own choice. I reflected, afterwards, on the Princes at whoſe recommendation I was named to this poſt of honour; on the Vicar of JESUS CHRIST, who had given an illuſtrious teſtimony in my favour; and on the aſſeſſors, by whoſe approbation I had been choſen, and on thoſe whoſe welfare I was to ſuperintend; and, laſtly, that I was to perform this duty in my own country, which is, as it ought to be, moſt dear to me. On theſe conſiderations I did not dare to decline the burden, though but by a ſingle word ‡."

The LEGATE was ordained prieſt, and received the pall, and the other ornaments of primacy in the Church of the bleſſed Virgin *Mary* of Arches, which is a pariſh belonging to the dioceſe of *Canterbury*; and having performed the divine ſervice with great ſolemnity, he preached to an incredible concourſe of nobility and gentry; which manner of inſtruction he continued in different places of his dioceſe, and particularly in his cathedral ever after. The feeling of his conſcience, as has been ſeen, was too delicate, and his knowledge of duty too correct, not to be informed, that reſidence is the obligation of all Biſhops; and he intreated the Queen to conſent to his complying with it; or, at leaſt, to his ſpending the greater part of the year in the diſcharge of it. To which ſhe prudently oppoſed the charity he

‡ Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 5ta, pag. 17.

owed

owed to the whole national Church, of which he was Primate, and which ought to have greater weight with him than a conſideration for any particular part: that this care could no where be exerted to ſo much advantage, as when he was near her perſon, and aſſiſted at the Councils, in which the welfare of the whole realm was intereſted. The divines and other qualified perſons, who were conſulted, were of the ſame opinion, and it was the general voice, that the Primate could not, without being wanting to what he owed the public, refuſe what the Queen, in theſe circumſtances, required of him. SECT. X.

Nor did his care extend only to the great ſources of good, which I have already mentioned in ſpeaking of the national council; but likewiſe ſet on foot thoſe eſtabliſhments by which the divine founder of Chriſtianity has recommended the perfection of his law, and which have been no leſs followed than taught by his diſciples. By his and the Queen's piety and care ſome religious houſes were founded in *London*. The Chapter of *Weſtminſter* being diſſolved, the Convent was reſtored to the monks, and Dr. *John Feckenham* appointed abbot. The Priory of the Hoſpital Knights of St. *John*, near *Smithfield*, was reſtored the following year, and Sir *Thomas Treſham* placed over them; and eight more abbeys were founded and endowed out of the lands of diſſolved monaſteries, which were ſtill inveſted in the crown *.

The Chancellorſhip of the univerſity of *Oxford* being vacated by the reſignation of Sir *John Maſon*, Knight, Fellow of *All-Souls*, and Privy Counſellor to *Edward* VI. the LEGATE was choſen to that high poſt of honour, as he had been, at *Gardiner*'s death, to that of *Cambridge* ‡. The decree,

* Ambaſſades de *Noailles*. ‡ Catalog. Cancel. *Cantab*.

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by which the latter was conferred on him, was ſent to *Greenwich*, where he then was, by ſome learned members of the univerſity: and the motives they aſſign for making choice of him are, "that he had formerly been a credit to the univerſity, and was now an honour to the whole kingdom, and an ornament to the *Engliſh* church; they take notice, in particular, of his indefatigable vigilance and paternal ſolicitude in repreſſing vice and error, which were grown to an enormous ſize, and recalling ancient diſcipline, innocence of manners, and uſeful learning; and, laſtly, they mention the ſingular good-will he bore the univerſity, and the daily proofs he gave of it †."

The CARDINAL returned his thanks to that illuſtrious body by a very elegant letter, in which, beſides the expreſſions uſual in ſuch an intercourſe of civility, he takes occaſion to mention the great men who had graced the place to which they had elected him: and as the univerſity, in its decree, had taken particular notice of *Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *Gardiner* of *Wincheſter*, as perſons, who, while they were at the head of the univerſity, had greatly encouraged both virtue and letters, he obſerves, they had with peculiar diſcernment ſelected thoſe two; on whom he paſſes this peculiar judgment, "that two perſons could not be named in the whole kingdom, in whom the ſupreme Being had given a clearer evidence of his mercy towards this country; and that one of them perceiving the ruin which threatened religion, oppoſed himſelf to it by a memorable example of fortitude; and, being oppreſſed himſelf, was more uſeful to the public by ſuch a death, than any of thoſe who ſurvived him: the other, having been

† Elect. CARD. POLI, in Cancell. *Oxon. Wilkins*, Conc. *Mag. Brit.* t. 4, p. 144.

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a part of the common fall, was permitted to live, and, when the time of raiſing the ruins was come, had, more than any one elſe, contributed to ſo laudable an undertaking. He had ſignified to their deputies, he ſays, that although he was diſpoſed to do every good office to the univerſity, and to exert his authority in favour of its members, yet he had rather they would confer the Chancellorſhip on ſome other perſon, who had the confidence of their Majeſties, and was endowed with the qualifications, for which they juſtly celebrated thoſe who had formerly held that dignity. But as they earneſtly inſiſted on his not refuſing this mark of their eſteem and good-will, he had accepted of it rather as their choice than his inclination *." SECT. X. 1ſt *April*, 1556, *Greenwich.*

I have cited this more willingly, as it is a proof of the LEGATE being ſuperior to all that reſentment which the moſt generous minds often feel at the envy and jealouſy with which others thwart their undertakings. Though he had a long time experienced much of all this from *Gardiner*, yet, becauſe he judged him uſeful to the ſtate, particularly at that juncture, he ſeconded his views, whilſt he lived, on all occaſions, in which he thought them juſtifiable; and, after his death, never failed to do honour to his memory, and not awaken the remembrance of any fact that might ſully it.

How deſerving CARDINAL POLE was of a place ſo ſuited to his high birth and genius, appears from his behaviour in it. Immediately on his election, the new Chancellor took care to have the ſtatutes reviſed; and where he found any thing deficient, he applied a remedy, and added what he further judged neceſſary for the better regula-

* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 5ta, pag. 88.

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tion of the univerſity. On this account ſeveral candid Proteſtant writers have acknowledged the ſeat of learning to have flouriſhed more in his time, than either under *Edward* or *Elizabeth*. This appears from a paſſage in thoſe ſtatutes, reviſed and publiſhed by Archbiſhop *Laud*, one of his ſucceſſors, who ſpeaks in the following manner: "At *Edward*'s acceſſion, a freſh effort was made to revive the ſplendor of the univerſity; and as the King favoured the undertaking, and the charm of novelty ſtill continued, the work was begun. Soon after, when the crown devolved to *Mary*, the ſame work was again taken in hand, under CARDINAL POLE's protection. New ſtatutes were made, but on as narrow a plan as the former. However, in this fluctuating ſtate of laws, the univerſity flouriſhed, ſciences were encouraged, diſcipline was kept up; and by a deſirable happineſs of the times, an ingenuous candour ſupplied the defect of ſtatutes, and what was wanting in the laws was made up by the manners. In ſucceeding times there was an equal want of both †."

31ſt *July*, 1556. *Ignatius Loyola*, founder of the order of Jeſuits, died a few months after the time I am

† *Edoardo* ſexto ad clavum ſedente, novo ſudatum eſt molimine, præſcribente Rege et lenocinante novitate, primò viſum opus admitti. Paulò pòſt potiente rerum *Mariâ*, ſub CARDINALIS POLI auſpiciis, idem recruduit labor. Novæ exinde latæ leges, ſed pari cum prioribus anguſtiâ: interim tamen inter incerta vacillans ſtatuta viguit academia, colebantur ſtudia, enituit diſciplina, et optandâ temporum felicitate tabularum defectum reſarcivit innatus candor, et quidquid legibus deerat, moribus ſuppletum eſt. Decurrente temporum ſerie, et vitiis et legibus pariter laboratum eſt.

It has been remarked, that Archbiſhop *Laud* was charged, on his trial, with this paſſage, as reflecting on Queen *Elizabeth* and the Reformation; but he anſwered, the preface was not his; and that the words I have cited only related to the ſtatutes and manners of the univerſity of *Oxford*, in thoſe times; not to the church or religion.

ſpeaking

ſpeaking of. Any mention of him would be foreign to the ſubject of this work, was it not for the intimacy between him and the LEGATE, which appears from their letters to each other. Theſe minutes, I am inclined to think, will give a very different idea from what an *Engliſh* reader is generally taught to entertain of this celebrated perſonage; and the good faith of hiſtory requires that popular prejudices ſhould not prevail over that impartiality which is due to all characters, and which they cannot but find from ſo diſcerning an age and country as has fallen to our ſhare. The hardſhips under which that body of men now lies, can be no reaſon for not doing juſtice to their founder; and the good ſenſe and equity of an *Engliſh* Reader muſt make him deſpiſe a writer, who then only was an index to merit, when popular favour ſhone on it. This ſhade is no diſcredit to the great ſervices they have done to the Catholic Church, to which the encouragement they have met with, above two hundred years, in all countries of that communion, bears witneſs; and have no where been more cheriſhed, or of greater emolument both to the Chriſtian and literary ſtate, than in thoſe kingdoms, from whence they have been lately baniſhed. This juſtice is the more becoming in the preſent ſtate, as ſome of our writers have aſſerted the LEGATE's diſapprobation of this order, and his oppoſing its eſtabliſhment amongſt us, in the reign of Queen *Mary* *. But let the documents ſpeak for themſelves, and the Reader be at large to make his own obſervations. SECT. X.

Several years before the time I am ſpeaking of, and ſhortly after *Ignatius* began to form his order,

* There is a ſhuffling article on this head in *Burnet*, Hiſt. Ref. part 2, page 327, from whence it has been tranſcribed into the Biogr. Brit. under the article POLE [x].

*Bobadilla*,

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*Bobadilla*, one of his firſt aſſociates, had paſſed ſome time in reading lectures of theology, preaching and adminiſtering the ſacraments at *Viterbo*, which was the capital of CARDINAL POLE's government, and had moreover greatly benefited that province by the example of a blameleſs and laudable life. But the Pope ſtanding in need of his labours elſewhere, ordered *Ignatius* to ſignify it to the governor, and recall *Bobadilla*. On this the governor let *Ignatius* know the unwillingneſs with which he ſhould part with ſo deſerving a perſon, and offers himſelf with the utmoſt readineſs to ſerve him and his ſociety *.

Before the LEGATE ſat out from *Bruſſels* on his way to *England*, *Ignatius* had ſignified to him the hopes he had of the ſucceſs of his embaſſy, and, ſoon after, he let him know the news had reached *Rome* of the deſired event being come to paſs in ſo ſhort a time, that it was manifeſtly the work of that Being, who has no occaſion for the opportunity of circumſtances and ſeaſons to bring about whatever is pleaſing to his divine and perfect will. He informs him of the univerſal joy this intelligence of a flouriſhing kingdom being brought back from error to the paths of truth had cauſed, and of the particular ſatisfaction his ſociety had received from it; that as no perſons were more attached to his Excellence than themſelves, on whom he had conferred the higheſt obligations, ſo it afforded them a ſingular pleaſure that the Divine Wiſdom had thought fit to commit ſo great a work to his care. He informs him alſo of the proſperous ſtate of the new inſtitution; that in the *Roman* College, where all ſciences, phyſic and the law excepted, were taught, there were above ſeventy ſtudents of their own body, and above five

* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 5ta, pag. 115.

hundred

hundred who frequented theſe ſchools from the city. That the ſtudents in the *German* College anſwered their warmeſt wiſhes, among whom was an *Engliſh* youth of quick parts and good diſpoſitions; and if the LEGATE thought fit to ſend any others who had an aptitude for letters, he had great hopes they would ſoon be in a condition to return to their country every way qualified to be of ſervice to her, and a credit to the place from whence they came; as great care was taken to bring them acquainted with what was laudable in that capital, and to preſerve them from the contagion of the contrary *.



The LEGATE in his anſwer thanks him for his congratulation on the ſucceſs of the *Engliſh* affairs, and tells him he had read with a particular complacency the progreſs of his ſociety, which he hoped would ſtill increaſe, and that the character of the Pope, who was lately choſen, was ſuch as could leave no doubt of his ſhewing ſpecial favour and protection to ſo deſerving a body of men †. There is another letter to *Ignatius* to the ſame purpoſe. As to the propoſal of ſending *Engliſh* youths to the *Roman* College, I have met with nothing which throws any further light on it. The urgent and manifold concerns which divided the LEGATE's time and thoughts, might, perhaps, only allow him leiſure to enter on that univerſal plan of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, of which I have given a detail; and he might have wanted an opportunity to deſcend to ſeveral particulars, which a longer life, and fewer exigencies of the times he lived in, would have afforded.

*Ignatius* died ſome months after the date of this laſt letter, and *Laines*, who ſucceeded him in the government of the ſociety, having informed the

* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 3ᵗᵃ, pag. 117. † Ibid. pag. 119.

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LEGATE of it, he assures him of the part he took in a loss which was common to all; and observes, as *Laines* had done, that he made no doubt, but being now more nearly united to the source of all good, he was more in a condition to assist them, than when on earth; and he adds several obliging expressions both to the Superior General and his body *. *Ignatius* had often said, he desired to see three things before he left the world; his treatise of Spiritual Exercises approved by the holy See; his order confirmed by the same authority, and the institutes of it become public. He died with this satisfaction; the order of Jesuits was already spread almost over the whole world, and divided into twelve provinces, which contained, at least, a hundred colleges, besides the other houses destined for the use of the professed religious.

15th *Nov.* 1556.

A few years before his death, the most celebrated of his disciples, *Francis Xavier*, had finished a life, which has been the object of admiration, not to the Catholic Church only, but to those who are estranged from her tenets. After having enlightened the empire of *Japan* and several other kingdoms and provinces of the East with the Gospel, he died in the island of *Sanciano*, as he was preparing to transfer that blessing to *China*; and the authors I have cited have vied with each other in celebrating his zeal, the sanctity of his manners, the uncommon gifts he received to execute the office of ambassador of JESUS CHRIST, his heroic patience and courage; and, on a full conviction of his claim to the title, have styled him the Apostle of the *Indies*, and a second St. *Paul* †.

1552.

* *R. Poli* Epist. pars 5ta, pag. 120, 121.

† *Baldeus*, History of the *Indies*. *Hackluyt*, Discoveries of the *English*, part 2, vol. 2. *Tavernier*.

SECT.

## SECT. XI.

### *The* LEGATE's *behaviour under the treatment he received from* Paul IV. *The manner of his death.*

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THE calamities of a long war between *France* and *Spain* had now ceaſed, and all *Chriſtendom*, which had felt, more or leſs, the effects of theſe two powers being at variance, ſeemed to conceive ſome hopes of a laſting peace *. This pleaſing proſpect had not been enjoyed above two years when the attention of *Europe* was called off to ſomething leſs agreeable; a diſſenſion between *Paul* IV. and *Philip* of *Spain*, King of *England*, which was either the cauſe or the pretext for a rupture between *France* and *Spain*. This gave CARDINAL POLE an opportunity of exerting that patience and moderation, which had ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed the other parts of his life; but does not ſeem to have ever appeared to ſo great an advantage, as when he was not very far from being removed to that ſtate which was to be its reward.

The ſevereſt crucible in which Heaven tries and refines the pureſt virtue is, when thoſe, who by their ſtation ſhould encourage the cauſe of goodneſs, give up what this character requires of them to envy and jealouſy, and, under ſome pretended colouring, gratify their own cauſeleſs reſentment, and injure that cauſe they ought to ſupport. Whoever has fortitude to bear up under ſuch an oppreſſion, and realize in practice that heroiſm,

* A truce of five years was concluded in 1555, and broke in 1557.

of

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of which ſuch engaging ideas are formed, and ſo few examples ſet, that man is great indeed. The following opportunity was that which the CARDINAL had of ſhewing this greatneſs of ſoul, and the manner in which he ſhewed it.

*Paul* IV. had taken up an animoſity, which was hereditary between the *Caraffa* family, of which he was deſcended, and the *Colonna*. Each of them had large poſſeſſions in the ſtate of *Naples*; and in all conteſts about that kingdom, the former have favoured the intereſts of *France*, and the latter thoſe of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. The *Colonnas* are likewiſe vaſſals of the Pope, having large baronies and lands in the Papal dominions, which they hold of the See of *Rome*; and *Paul*, on ſome pretext, with which the wilfulneſs and acrimony of old age furniſhed him *, had cauſed *Mark Anthony Colonna* to be accuſed of high treaſon, and, on his not appearing at his trial, to be condemned, and had ſeized the duchy of *Paliano*, and other caſtles and eſtates belonging to that nobleman, and given them to his nephew *John Caraffa*. He had likewiſe treated the other branches of the *Colonna* family, and the *Sfortias*, with great ſeverity, and thrown *Aſcanio Sfortia*, the Cardinal Chamberlain, and a particular friend of the LEGATE, into priſon.

On this the head of the *Colonna* family having recourſe to the *Spaniſh* intereſt, the Viceroy of *Naples*, by *Philip*'s orders, had entered the eccleſiaſtical ſtate at the head of an army too powerful for the Pope to oppoſe. He had been included in the late truce between *France* and *Spain*, as an ally of the former, and this behaviour ſeem-

* Cæterùm, his tot virtutibus inerat ingenium ferox et pervicax, et elatus animus vaſtuſque et adverſanti neſciens cedere, prorſuſque imperii nimius. *Gratiani* de caſibus illuſtrium virorum, pag. 316.

ed

ed a violation of that treaty; he ſent, therefore, another of his nephews, Cardinal *Charles Caraffa*, into *France*, in order to engage that court in his intereſts againſt *Philip*; and remind *Henry* II. of the ancient claim of his anceſtors to the kingdom of *Naples*, and offer him all the weight of his uncle's power, which he took care to magnify, to make it good. He prevailed ſo far on the *French* King, that he ſent him back with 2000 men; and a treaty of alliance was agreed on at *Rome* by the Cardinals of *Lorain* and *Tournon*, on the part of the court of *France*. The *French* army entered *Italy* ſoon after *; but the *Spaniards*, who had every where the ſuperiority, defeated the Pope's troops and thoſe of his ally, and took ſeveral of his towns. *Novemb.* 1556.

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This has no other connexion with the ſubject of this work, than as the good offices the LEGATE interpoſed in order to bring about an accommodation, awakened in the Pope's breaſt an ancient malevolence he had entertained againſt him, and gave occaſion to the trial I have juſt hinted at. And as this is one of the moſt intereſting ſcenes of the CARDINAL's life, it well deſerves to be ſet forth in ſuch a detail, and with all thoſe circumſtances, which may place it in its full light, and neither deprive the CARDINAL's memory of the honour, nor the Reader of the example of ſuch an inſtance of fortitude.

Some years before the time I am ſpeaking of, CARDINAL POLE, in a letter to *Hierom Muzzarelli*, one of the great officers of *Julius* the Third's houſhold, had entered on a long and ſenſible diſcuſſion of the uneaſineſs he lay under at the want of good will he had experienced from the preſent Pope, who was then Archbiſhop of *Naples*, and Magiſter ſacri Palatii.

* *Ribier* ii. 645, 648-9, 658, 660.

known

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known by the title of the *Theatine* Cardinal; tho', he ſays, he was not conſcious to himſelf of having given any occaſion to this behaviour, and had always greatly honoured that Prelate for the uncommon regularity of his manners, of which all were witneſſes who were acquainted with him. *Muzzarelli* had informed the CARDINAL of ſeveral ſignifications of the Archbiſhop's regard, and, as a common friend to both, had intreated him to acquieſce in the aſſurances he gave him of it; that, whereas the CARDINAL had thoughts of writing an apology for himſelf againſt ſome rumours which were ſpread to the diſadvantage of his orthodoxy, the Archbiſhop had deſired him, for the honour of the ſacred College, not to deſcend to a cauſe ſo much beneath the dignity of ſuch aſſociates; and, in as much as it was perſonal to the CARDINAL, he took the juſtification on himſelf. The CARDINAL ſays, he hopes the Archbiſhop's whole behaviour will be uniform with this and the like declarations; but that there were ſeveral perſons who cautioned him againſt laying much ſtreſs on them; and who, on the CARDINAL's repeating the inſtances of friendſhip he had lately received from him, had accuſed his ſimplicity for believing others as ſincere as himſelf: they inſiſted particularly on the neceſſity of this diffidence with reſpect to the teſtimony he had given in the CARDINAL's favour to thoſe who preſide at the inquiſition, and to the Pope himſelf; for why, ſay they, ſhould he bring up your name in ſuch a place, and before ſuch judges, unleſs it was to ſhew you was not clear of ſuſpicion in their eſtimate? He concludes in this remarkable manner; notwithſtanding all this, I will give greater credit to what the Archbiſhop ſays of his own diſpoſitions, and what *Muzzarelli* writes of them, than to any thing elſe; or even to any former ſentiment

ment in which that Prelate may have been. But though it belongs to us both not to injure this mutual friendſhip, yet this duty is chiefly incumbent on the perſon who was thought to have violated it: That no one could object to him any ſingle inſtance, in which that Prelate could think himſelf injured; but that he, the CARDINAL, had been often blamed for taking his part with too much warmth, when others found fault with him: That his correſpondent might aſſure the Archbiſhop of every good office which could be expected from one who had a habit of ſincerity and good-will in his regard, and that he would take care this aſſurance ſhould not deceive him, nor any of their friends *. SECT. XI.

The war was ſcarcely broken out between the Pontiff and *Philip*, but the *Engliſh* LEGATE wrote to the former with the wiſdom of a Counſellor and the ſanctity of a Primate; and at the ſame time uſed all his endeavours with the King, who was in *Flanders*, and with her Majeſty at home, that all farther hoſtilities might ceaſe.

"No diſagreement," ſays he, writing to the Pope, could be more unſeaſonable to the whole Chriſtian commonwealth, and to this kingdom in particular, than that which has now commenced between your Holineſs and the King; and no news could be more unwelcome, than that hoſtilities had proceeded ſo far as to annoy the eccleſiaſtical ſtate and *Rome* itſelf. This incident is ſo much the more affecting, as the motives of mutual love and agreement between your Holineſs and his Majeſty are greater and more numerous; the chief of which is the ſingular zeal which the King and his Royal Conſort ſhewed, as ſoon as

* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 4ta, pag. 91.

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they had taken poſſeſſion of theſe realms, of recalling their people to the true religion, and the obedience of the holy See; on which account your Holineſs declared the great and ſingular regard and love you bore him. There are, beſides, ſeveral particular ties of mutual good-will and amity, which connect you and the King; one of which is, that you was born and educated in the hereditary ſtates of his Majeſty, where your noble family enjoys great wealth and honours; that you paſſed part of your youth in the court of his grandfather; was Counſellor to his father, and deputed by the holy See Legate to him. Theſe circumſtances you are wont to repeat with pleaſure; and on being raiſed to the Popedom, you ordered me to mention them to his Majeſty, when I complimented him in your name on the ceſſion of the ſaid kingdoms made to him. Wherefore, though I had not received your commands as to the manner in which I was to behave at this juncture, yet the intereſt I take in the cauſe of religion, the duty I owe you, moſt holy father, and the affection which, for very good reaſons, I have long borne his Majeſty, will not permit me to be either ſilent or unactive in an affair of this importance. I have already repreſented to the King, by letter, every argument which this ſubject ſuggeſted to me, but to no effect: the only thing I have left, is to ſend one of my houſhold to *Rome*, to know your orders, and be informed of your welfare, concerning which I am, as I ought to be, very ſolicitous." He ends the letter by deſiring the Pope to ſend the patents for four vacant Biſhoprics, that they might be immediately ſupplied with the paſtors who had been named to them, and whom he recommends to the Pope, and gives a very honourable teſtimony in their favour.

vour. This diſpatch was ſent by *Henry Penning* the LEGATE's *Engliſh* Secretary *. SECT. XI.

The Pope, at firſt, ſeemed pleaſed with this inſtance of duty, and thanked the LEGATE for it; yet, ſoon after, he looked on it as a troubleſome cenſure of his paſt conduct, and a check to the hoſtile deſigns on which he was wholly bent. His late loſſes had only exaſperated a haughty ſpirit, and he now propoſed by an alliance with *France* to drive the *Spaniards* out of *Italy*; and, perhaps, was not without hopes of getting poſſeſſion of *Naples*, and realizing an ancient claim the Popes have to that kingdom. For when the *Neapolitans*, ſome years before the time I am ſpeaking of, roſe up in arms againſt the cruelties and contumelious uſage of *Peter* of *Toledo*, Duke of *Alva*, their Viceroy, this Pontiff, when he was Cardinal, had endeavoured to perſuade *Paul* III. to make uſe of the preſent opportunity of ridding *Naples* of the *Spaniſh* yoke, and renewing his own pretenſions to it; which are ſo far acknowledged by the ſovereigns of that ſtate, that, at their acceſſion, they pay a tribute of 6000 ducats and a white hackney to the See of *Rome*. The LEGATE's pacific diſpoſitions, and the weight his integrity gave him in all deliberations, were an obſtacle to the Pope's views. He choſe, therefore, to conſider his advice, though given with all poſſible reſpect, as a breach of duty rather than a proof of it, and to treat him in the manner I am going to relate.

Since the hoſtilities were begun in *Italy*, nothing was wanting to an open war between *France* and *Spain* but the declaration of it; which cere- 25th *Jan.* mony was now complied with †. On this, *Philip* 1557.

* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 5ta, pag 20, 22.
† Negot. d'*Amboiſe de Noialles*.

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came to *England*, after an abſence of almoſt two years, in order to engage the nation in a war, which was purely *Spaniſh*, and equally contrary to the engagements we had with the *French* and to our own intereſts. Several reaſons indeed were aſſigned, as is uſual on ſuch occaſions; of which, invention always furniſhes as many as truth, but quite deſtitute of foundation. The Queen, however, was prevailed on by her inclination to her huſband, and againſt her own better judgment, to come into this meaſure; and though the wiſer part of the council was of their Sovereign's mind, yet war was declared againſt a nation, whoſe name alone is deemed almoſt a ſufficient title for it; and *Philip*, having gained his point, left *England*, never more to return to it.

*May.*

7th *July.*

Whilſt theſe actions of hoſtility were meditating for the field, the Pope was exerting at *Rome*, in a different cauſe, an equal enmity againſt CARDINAL POLE. He began by declaring his intention to recall his Legates and Nuncios from all the King of *Spain*'s dominions, and he mentioned the CARDINAL among the reſt. The Queen, on this intelligence, given her by Sir *Edward Carne* *, her Ambaſſador at the court of *Rome*, ordered him to repreſent to the Pope the general alarm this news had cauſed in her people, and to intreat him to deſiſt from a meaſure which would be ſo prejudicial to a cauſe, of which all motives concurred to make him the protector: the Biſhops alſo made the ſame repreſentations.

15th *May*, 1557.

14th *June*, 1557.

On this the Pope declared that, at the Queen's requeſt and for the welfare of the nation, he would ſtill continue, for ſome years, the Legan-

* Letter of Sir *Edward Carne* to Q. *Mary*, ex Cartophylac. Regio, quoted at length by Dr. *Burnet*, Hiſt. Ref. part 2. Col. of Records, pag. 315.

tine

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tine juriſdiction in *England*; but as it would be unbecoming the place he was in, and the dignity of the conſiſtory, to name again the ſame perſon Legate, whom a little before they had diveſted of that character, with a deſign of calling him, with other abſent Cardinals, to *Rome*, on matters of importance; he judged it more adviſable to create another perſon, who reſided in *England*, Cardinal, and add to this dignity the authority of Legate; that ſo he might at once ſatisfy the Queen and nation, and not ſeem to have lightly varied in his proceedings. He therefore nominated *William Peyto*, of the order of St. *Francis*, to the purple, and appointed him Legate in *England*, in the ſame manner as CARDINAL POLE had been, and transferred on him all the powers the latter had enjoyed *.

This declaration was followed by a decree, addreſſed to the *Engliſh* Biſhops, to the following purpoſe: "That the Pope had underſtood, from ſome of them, how neceſſary the authority of a Legate of the holy See was ſtill in that realm, in order to eſtabliſh in it the Catholic faith; that he was deſirous to convince them of his paternal affection to the Queen, and his care of the welfare and dignity of all the Churches of her kingdom; but as he had reſolved, for weighty reaſons, to recall his Legates, and among them CARDINAL POLE, he could not change his reſolution concerning the latter, without departing from the gravity of the holy See, and altering the decree, which was already made, to order him and other abſent Cardinals to repair to *Rome*, that they might aſſiſt him, the Pope, as their duty required, in the diſcharge of his office. For theſe rea-

* Ex Actis Conſiſtorialibus, die lunæ, xiv *Junii*, cited in the fifth part of CARDINAL POLE's letters, page 444.

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ſons he had created *William Peyto*, whom he had formerly known at *Rome*, Cardinal; that he had thoughts of conferring this honour on him at the beginning of his pontificate, on account of his probity and zeal for religion, of which he had given very ſignal proofs, both in his own country and elſewhere; but that his promotion had been very ſeaſonably deferred till the preſent juncture, when, with the general approbation of the ſacred college, he had ſubſtituted him to CARDINAL POLE. He, therefore, had appointed him Legate, by commiſſion, of *England* and *Ireland*, and ſent him the badges of this dignity, and required of them to receive him in that character, and ſhew him the reſpect and deference it intitled him to."

Legatus à latere.

He deſigned him, likewiſe, for the See of *Saliſbury*, and, as ſome of our writers relate, at the death of Dr. *John Salcot*, named him to it.

20th *June*, 1557.

By the above-mentioned proceeding, the CARDINAL was not only deprived of the legantine office, which he held by commiſſion, but of that alſo which had always been annexed to the See of *Canterbury*, and which, though inferior to the other, conferred great authority, and a very extenſive juriſdiction; thoſe who were inveſted with it being called *Legates by birth*, becauſe they inherit, as it were, that dignity on being named to ſome of the great metropolitan Sees, among which that of *Canterbury* is very deſervedly a diſtinguiſhed one.

Legatus natus.

The Queen was informed by Sir *Edward Corne* of this ſtep being taken, before any other news of it had reached *England*; even before he, who was ſo perſonally intereſted, had the leaſt intimation of it; and ſhe ſaw the impropriety of the whole affair, and the ſad conſequences which were likely to be the effects of it. *Peyto* was now far advanced in years, and had neither birth, nor abilities,

lities, nor a reputation equal to the poſt he was deſigned for, eſpecially after ſuch a predeceſſor; and was moreover a begging frier. Each of theſe circumſtances made this meaſure as unſeaſonable as it could poſſibly be in that conjuncture. The Catholic religion was hardly recalled; there were many and various remains of the late ſchiſm and errors; the manners of the Clergy had not yet regained the reſpect which is due to their character, and the mendicant orders were ſtill held, by the generality of the people, in contempt. All theſe diſadvantages, which, in the nature of things, excluded *Peyto* from the firſt ſpiritual juriſdiction in this country *, were counter-worked in CARDINAL POLE by his royal extraction, excellent learning, and a ſingular probity and ſanctity of manners. Theſe qualities placed him above all objection, and cauſed even thoſe, who perhaps diſliked his attachment to the Church of *Rome*, to honour and admire his perſon. SECT. XI.

Her Majeſty, therefore, on intelligence of theſe proceedings, gave orders that no meſſenger from *Rome* ſhould be permitted to land in *England*, and

* *William Peyto* was born of a gentleman's family of *Cheſterton* in *Warwickſhire*, and had been confeſſor to Queen *Catharine*, wife to *Henry* VIII. He oppoſed the divorce with an intrepidity, of which there is ſcarce any other example: for preaching before the King, when he eagerly purſued this affair, he took for his text the laſt part of the ſtory of *Ahab*, *where the dogs licked the blood of* Naboth, *even there ſhall the dogs lick thy blood, O King:* and ſpeaking of the lying prophets who deceived him. "I, ſays he, addreſſing his diſcourſe to *Henry*, am that *Michaiah* whom thou wilt hate, becauſe I muſt tell thee truly, that this marriage is unlawful;" with more to the ſame purpoſe, which may be ſeen in *Stow*'s annals, under the year 1533.

Several writers have given a very advantageous account of this zealous and religious perſonage. *Athen. Oxon.* V. 1 Col. 686. hiſtoria minor Prov. *Angl.* fratrum minorum. Mr. *Dod*, Church Hiſt. vol. 1, pag. 480.

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that all letters and diſpatches from thence ſhould be brought to her: ſhe took care alſo, that the whole affair ſhould remain a ſecret to the LEGATE and to *Peyto*. At the ſame time ſhe ſent a meſſenger to *Rome*, with orders to her Ambaſſador to inform the Pope, that his late proceedings were utterly deſtructive of whatever had been done towards recalling the ancient faith; and, if he perſiſted in them, nothing leſs than the total ruin of that cauſe was to be expected, and the former calamities, or even worſe, to take place: that ſhe could not perſuade herſelf that his Holineſs, if he was acquainted with the ſituation of the kingdom, would have taken ſo ill-timed a meaſure; and therefore intreated him, by all that was good and ſacred, to proceed warily in an affair of ſuch conſequence; and called both God and men to witneſs, ſhe was not acceſſory to the evils, which would not fail to enſue, if he perſiſted in his reſolution.

The Pope*, whoſe prejudices againſt the Primate were as violent as unjuſt, and who ſeemed little ſolicitous about any thing but making him feel the effects of them, told Sir *Edward Carne*, that he had ſome things of importance to diſcuſs with CARDINAL POLE, and therefore had ſent for him; inſinuating at the ſame time, what he had ſufficiently intimated on other occaſions, that he ſuſpected his orthodoxy, and would know his ſentiments on ſome points, in which faith was concerned, and confront him with Cardinal *Moron*. This ſuſpicion had been formerly raiſed by the lenity of the CARDINAL's behaviour towards thoſe who were accuſed of error in his government of

* Cujus erat ingenium elatum, vehemens, acre, et cùm pronum ad ſuſpicionem, tum ubi fides et religio ageretur, præceps ad vindicandum. *Gratiani*, pag. 226.

*Viterbo*;

*Viterbo*; and becauſe he obſerved the ſame conduct in *England*, thoſe who were deſirous he ſhould, at all events be blameable, ſuppoſed he favoured the tenets of ſuch who had left the Church, becauſe he ſcreened their perſons.

To this the Queen replied, that if the Pope really had any miſtruſt of the LEGATE's faith, it muſt be of very late date, ſince himſelf had beſtowed the moſt ample commendations on him, in full conſiſtory, when he propoſed him for the See of *Canterbury*; and if he had ſince given occaſion to any ſiniſter opinions, though ſhe could by no means perſuade herſelf that was the caſe, ſhe begged of his Holineſs to inform her of the whole affair; and ſhe would not fail, agreeably to the ancient cuſtom and laws of the realm, to have his cauſe brought before the Biſhops, who, on proper information, ſhould either acquit or condemn him; as it was her intention, that neither the intereſts of religion ſhould ſuffer, nor the innocence of the PRIMATE be oppreſſed.

Theſe negotiations were not carried on ſo ſecretly, but ſomething of them came to the LEGATE's knowledge; and as he conjectured the real fact, that the Queen had intercepted the Pope's orders, by which he was diveſted of the character of LEGATE, he immediately forbade the ſilver croſs to be borne before him, and quitted any further mark of the Legantine juriſdiction, and abſtained from every other exerciſe of it. He ſent, alſo, his Chancellor *Ormanet* to *Rome* *, to be fully informed of the Pope's intentions, and to ſignify his own readineſs to comply with them;

* *Nicholas Ormanet* had been recommended to the LEGATE by Pope *Julius* III. as a perſon of great judgment and ſingular ſkill in eccleſiaſtical affairs. After his patron's death, he appeared with great credit at the council of *Trent*, was made Biſhop of *Padua* in 1570, and died ſeven years after.

and

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and to lay before him the ſtate of the *Engliſh* nation, and his own grief that the Pope ſhould entertain any doubts of his doctrine: and how ill ſuited ſuch ſuſpicions were to all he had hitherto written and acted, and ſuffered in defence of the prerogative of the holy See, and of the Catholic Religion.

He was moreover to repreſent the ſentiments and diſcourſes of the moſt conſiderable perſons, both of the clergy and laity, on this affair; who were unanimous, that no meaſure could be more unſeaſonable than the abrogation of the Legantine juriſdiction. After which, the CARDINAL concludes with a declaration ſuited to the modeſty and diſintereſtedneſs, which had always diſtinguiſhed his character; "that, provided this juriſdiction was ſtill continued in the kingdom, he did not think it very material by whom it was exerciſed; and if the Pope thought proper to eaſe him of the burden, he would do every good office in his power, and ſhew all reſpect to the perſon who was ſent in his place *."

The Pope received *Ormanet* with much ſeeming humanity, and heard him plead his Lord's cauſe very attentively, which was ſo clear, and urged in ſuch ſubmiſſive terms, as to mollify the obdurate heart of *Paul* IV. But while the Chancellor was at *Rome*, the news arrived of the defeat of the *French* army at *St. Quintin*'s, in which the High Conſtable, and chief of their nobility, were either killed or taken priſoners. The honour of the day was chiefly owing to the valour of the *Engliſh* troops, commanded by the Earl of *Pembroke*, and to the perſonal bravery of Lord *Montacute* the Lieutenant-General. This overthrow cauſed *Henry* II. to recall the troops he had ſent

10th *Aug.* 1557.

Sir *Anth. Browne.*

* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 5ta, pag. 27.

to

to the Pope's aſſiſtance, a few excepted, which were left for the guard of his perſon, and the ſame ill ſucceſs attended the Pontiff's forces, which were routed, about this time, by the *Spaniards*, at *Signia* in *Campania*. SECT. XI.

The Pope diſſembled his reſentment againſt *Philip*, which this defeat had increaſed, and againſt the CARDINAL, which was no leſs inveterate †. He went even ſo far, as *Ormanet* afterwards told his hiſtorian *Becatelli*, as to clear him from all ſuſpicion of heterodox opinions, and to ſay, ſuch rumours were ſpread by malice and envy, which, as they had not ſpared the moſt innocent Author of Chriſtianity, it was no matter of ſurpriſe if they attacked his followers. He continued this ambiguous behaviour with *Ormanet* till he had concluded a peace with *Philip*, and then diſmiſſed *Sept.* 14th. the LEGATE's Chancellor, telling him, he would ſend Cardinal *Caraffa*, his brother's ſon, to *Flanders*, in order to conclude with the King and the Cardinal every thing that was yet in debate.

Reſiſtance and diſappointment had always the effect on *Paul* IV. which the banks have on the billows of the ſea: it cauſed him to meet them with redoubled violence *. His late loſſes, therefore, only made him diſſemble the real ſentiments he had long cheriſhed againſt the LEGATE, to whoſe ill counſels his ill humour made him impute the *Engliſh* ſuccours which were ſent to *Philip*, and the defeat of his ally ‡. Thus, whilſt he made

† Hoc ipſo tempore duplicem de re malè geſtâ nuncium acceperat . . . . iracundiam cùm in *Philippum*, tum etiam in *Polum* multo antè conceptam diſſimulavit. *Poli* vita, pag. 36.

* Immoderata animi indomiti ac imperioſi vis, et juris ſui nimio plus retinentis. *Gratiani* de caſibus illis. Vir.

‡ Id adeo odium intendebat ipſe quoque *Paulus*, cujus vim animi atque inſitam ingenio ferociam non tam ſedaverat parta pax,

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made declarations to *Ormanet* in the LEGATE's favour, he ſignified, as has been ſaid, by equivocal diſcourſes, a diffidence in the ſoundneſs of his doctrine, and ſuffered proceedings to be carried on againſt him, which neceſſarily inferred that ſuppoſition.

Not contented to ſhew his malevolence to the *Engliſh* CARDINAL, he wreaked it, in a very unbecoming manner, on the deareſt of his friends, the Lord *Priuli*, who, as we have ſeen, had followed all his fortunes, ever ſince their acquaintance at the univerſity of *Padua:* for this nobleman having been nominated at the requeſt of the republic of *Venice*, to ſucceed to the Biſhopric of *Breſcia*, which is one of the moſt conſiderable in *Italy*, and it being at this time vacated, the Pope refuſed to ratify the grant which was made by his predeceſſor. The LEGATE took this occaſion to write to his Holineſs of this injuſtice done to his friend, and made uſe of it as an introduction to the ſubjects of complaint which regarded himſelf.

" I had heard, ſome time ago, moſt holy Father, ſays he, writing to the Pope, that your Holineſs had annulled the reverſionary grant of the Biſhopric of *Breſcia*, which your predeceſſor, *Julius* III. at the intreaty of the ſtate of *Venice*, conferred on *Lewis Priuli*, without one ſtep taken on his part to obtain it. But as I am now informed of the death of Cardinal *Durante*, the late occupier of that See, I thought it my duty to preſent to your Holineſs a petition in favour of ſuch a friend, which I never did for myſelf to any of your predeceſſors, and to beg of you, that what is already fallen to him by right of reverſion, may be confirmed in conſidera-

pax, quàm improſpera belli aſperaverant. *Gratiani*, ubi ſupra, pag. 333.

tion

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tion of his merit, and becauſe he has, many years, been looked on as the ſucceſſor to that Biſhopric, to the great and general ſatisfaction of the inhabitants. No one is better acquainted than myſelf, from a long and unreſerved intimacy, with his learning, probity and religion, which are truly becoming the dignity he is called to. I have ever remarked in him, beſides other virtues becoming this ſtation, an uncommon love of God and mankind, and a contempt of whatever, in the falſe eſtimate of the world, is chiefly ſought after and valued. Beſides other inſtances of this generoſity of mind, he has given this illuſtrious one, that whereas he was deſcended of one of the nobleſt families of his country, and ſaw the road to honours and preferments open to him, he made no account of theſe advantages, but accompanied me, above twenty years, in baniſhment and the greateſt dangers, was partaker of all I ſuffered, and lived with me in ſuch manner as not to give the leaſt ſuſpicion of ambition, or the love of lucre.

"I plead his cauſe with your Holineſs with ſo much leſs reſerve, as I am conſcious that I have no other view but the ſervice of my Maker and the utility of a large province; for, as to myſelf, if you pay a regard to the deſire of the people of *Breſcia*, to the requeſt of the *Venetians*, and to my petition, I foreſee it muſt be attended with the loſs of the ſociety of a friend, on which, for many reaſons, I ſet the higheſt value.

"But, perhaps, you may aſk who I am who preſume to give ſuch an evidence in favour of one who is impeached by the inquiſitors? To which I anſwer, that I am the perſon who, from a long and intimate acquaintance with the party concerned, ought to be credited preferably to all others: I who, of all people, have cauſe to be at enmity with heretics, have never ſuffered any

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any one calamity of the many which have fallen to my ſhare, of which they were not the authors, and for the Catholic Religion only.

"But it may be replied, in caſe I myſelf am impeached of the ſame crime, of what weight can my evidence be? And the anſwer is ready, that I ought to be ſo much more credited than my accuſers, as the conſpicuous actions I have performed in the cauſe of religion ſhould outweigh their diſcourſes, who dare not produce either words or facts againſt me, becauſe they are at a loſs for either.

"If it be further urged, that I am not only impeached, but found guilty; I well underſtand what this means; and was informed of it, for the firſt time, when Cardinal *Moron*, whom every one knows to be my particular friend, on the like ſuſpicions, was taken into cuſtody; and afterwards, when I was given to conjecture my own caſe, by being deprived of the Legantine juriſdiction.

"What therefore ſhall I ſay? In the firſt place, that I ought to lay a greater ſtreſs on your own declaration, than on any appearances, and the reports of others. By this you ſignified to the *Engliſh* ambaſſador, and to the meſſengers I ſent to *Rome*, that whatever you had done in this affair had not proceeded from any offence taken at me; but, as your Holineſs and the King of *England* were at war, and you had recalled your Legates from his other dominions, you did not think proper to exempt this realm from the general regulation; and as you was pleaſed to aſſign this reaſon for abrogating my authority, though the caſe of this nation be different from that of any other, I did not preſume to interpret your orders in any other ſenſe, than that in which yourſelf was pleaſed to explain them.

"A ſhort

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"A ſhort time after, when on your reconciliation with the King, your Legates were ſent to his other dominions, and Cardinal *Caraffa*, your brother's ſon, to his Majeſty; though the *Engliſh* ambaſſador intreated you to reſtore me to my Legantine functions, on the part of the Queen, the Biſhops, and both Houſes of Parliament, and delivered her Majeſty's letters on this ſubject; your Holineſs would not come to any explicit declaration; and at length, as I am informed, have ſuffered a report to prevail, that I am found guilty, and condemned.

"How am I here to interpret your Holineſs's mind? am I to conclude you ſignified it to the Ambaſſador, when, on his preſſing the affair, you anſwered, it belonged to a higher court? For when you declared yourſelf in this manner, without granting what he aſked, you ſeemed to ſay, that you acted in compliance with what piety and your duty to the ſupreme Being required of you.

"Does Almighty God, therefore, require that a parent ſhould ſlay his child? Once, indeed, he gave this precept, when he commanded *Abraham* to offer in ſacrifice his ſon *Iſaac*, whom he tenderly loved, and through whom all the promiſes made to the father were to be accompliſhed. And what are now the preparations your Holineſs is making, but ſo many forerunners of the ſacrifice of my better life; that is, of my reputation? for, in how wretched a ſenſe muſt that paſtor be ſaid to live, who has loſt with his flock the credit of an upright belief? And that this is the death you have reſerved me, I ſee much more clearly than the ſon of the Patriarch ſeemed to underſtand his father's deſign, when perceiving every thing prepared for the whole-burnt-offering but the victim, he aſked where that was? But I, who ſee the fire and the

ſword

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ſword in your hands, and all the other preparations made, inſtead of aſking where the victim is, ſhould put this queſtion to you, why you permit yourſelf to be deceived by groundleſs ſuſpicions, and are ready, on a falſe appearance of religion, to put to death a ſon, whom you once loved? I am not conſcious of any thing that could have cauſed a change in your affection; but of many which ſhould endear me more to you, having at length, through God's grace, accompliſhed the work, to the joy of the whole Church and the honour of the holy See, which you always ſeemed to hope from me.

"Is this ſword of anguiſh, with which you are about to pierce my ſoul, the return I am to receive for all theſe ſervices? If you act, indeed, in this manner, that you may ſatisfy what you owe to duty, all I ſhall ſay is, may God accept the ſacrifice. Yet ſtill I truſt he will no more permit you to proceed, than he did the Patriarch to kill his ſon.

"This whole tranſaction recalls to my remembrance, that, in my younger years, when I received the Cardinalate, and, as the cuſtom is, lay proſtrate before the altar, I ſaid to the Pope who conferred the dignity on me, that I delivered myſelf as a victim to him; but I little imagined I ſhould be put to this trial a ſecond time; eſpecially as the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* had been ſubſtituted in my place, as the ram, whoſe horns were intangled in the brambles, was in that of *Iſaac*, and died without metaphor.

"I cannot, however, but hope that the ſame power which, on this occaſion, withheld the Patriarch's arm, will, when the ſeaſonable time comes, exert itſelf alſo in my defence; nor in mine alone,

alone, but in that of Cardinal *Moron* † and *Priuli*; for your Holineſs's hand is lifted up againſt us all. SECT. XI.

"You muſt allow me, holy Father, to purſue the alluſion by which I have preſumed to repreſent my own caſe; and to ſay, I now ſee not one meſſenger, as in the caſe of *Iſaac*, but many, who withhold your hand, armed with depoſitions, as with a deſtroying weapon, againſt me. *Philip* and *Mary*, catholic Princes and defenders of the faith: ſeveral perſons of eminent worth interpoſe themſelves in my favour. But in this cauſe, neither I, nor my friends who lie under the ſame accuſations, ſeek the aid, even of ſuch protectors, to approve and defend our innocence; and we hold the ſame language to your Holineſs which *Moſes* did to the Almighty, who promiſed him the guidance of a celeſtial ſpirit to protect him and his people againſt their enemies, and lead them into the promiſed land, *Unleſs you yourſelf go before us, do not bring us out of this place*; Unleſs your Holineſs be our advocate againſt our ſlanderers, and extricate us from theſe difficulties, we aſk no foreign aſſiſtance: for if you are not pleaſed to do us this juſtice, the adverſe party is too powerful to be overcome by any other ſuccour.

"I am already informed by what ſteps the enemy begins to triumph in this realm, eſpecially with reſpect to thoſe proceedings which have been carried on againſt myſelf. For whereas I had ga-

† This excellent perſon was confined, by the Pope's orders, in the priſon of the inquiſition, on a groundleſs ſurmiſe of keeping a correſpondence with the *German* Lutherans. He had no difficulty to clear himſelf, and the Pope let him know, he might go out of priſon. This he refuſed, unleſs he had juſtice done in a public manner, which was the reaſon that this affair was not ended till the following pontificate.

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thered together my ſcattered flock chiefly by my own invariable adherence to that faith which I exhorted them to embrace; as ſoon as it was rumoured that my rectitude in that belief was queſtioned, the enemies of that cauſe thought they had, by this means, an opportunity of calling off the ſheep to a greater diſtance from the voice of the ſhepherd. Your Holineſs alone can defeat this purpoſe. As to the aſſaults which are made on us, although the juſtice of our cauſe ought, at your tribunal, to be an over-match to all ſlander, and ſecure the people committed to our care from danger, we deſire to refer the victory to the goodneſs of the ſupreme Being, and, under that, to yourſelf.

"The ſum therefore, holy Father, of my petition is, that you, who repreſent on earth the perſon of our Lord and Redeemer, would likewiſe imitate the manner in which he treats thoſe whom he loves; and as he, ſometimes, *leads them into the depth of diſtreſs*, that he may take trial of their fidelity, and, having found them worthy of himſelf, *brings them back to the day of peace and ſerenity*, you would do the ſame by us. No extremity can be greater than that in which we are already caſt, when you ſuffer the belief of thoſe, who are intruſted with the care of others, to be ſuſpected. Whatever, therefore, may have been the cauſes of this proceeding, you cannot fail of acting a part becoming your high ſtation, if, when the affair is cleared up, and our innocence proved, you *bring us back*, as the prophet expreſſes himſelf, *to the regions of light and comfort*; in which you will, at the ſame time, conſult the honour of the holy See and your own, and maintain our reputation, and that of the ſacred College. That your Holineſs may act in this manner, we will not ceaſe to pray

*Greenwich*, 30th *March*, 1558.

pray to the Almighty, and for your preſervation and happineſs *."



I have

* Epiſt. *R. Poli*, pars 5ta, pag. 31.

There is ſomething too uncommon in this Pope's character not to give the Reader the entertainment, and, if he pleaſes, the inſtruction of it; as nothing can repreſent, in a more ſtriking light, the waſte which a ruling paſſion may make in the greateſt minds, and not only blaſt all their good qualities, but render them deſtructive. It will, likewiſe, throw a great light on what has been ſaid of this Pontiff's malevolence to the *Engliſh* CARDINAL, which ſeems, in great meaſure, to have been founded in this paſſion, and in the total oppoſition of diſpoſitions which was cauſed by it.

*Paul* IV. was deſcended, as has been ſaid, from the *Caraffa* family, in the kingdom of *Naples*, and was born in 1476. His education was ſuited to the nobility of his extraction, and he not only excelled in ſacred literature, but ever preſerved a reputation clear from the leaſt ſuſpicion of vice. He was initiated in eccleſiaſtical diſcipline under the care of Cardinal *Oliver Caraffa*, his uncle, a perſon of merit, with whom he paſſed ſome years of his youth at *Rome*. On the death of this nobleman, he went to *Spain*, where *Ferdinand*, on account of his uncommon probity, honoured him with his friendſhip, and made him one of the council of ſtate. He continued in the ſame poſt under *Charles* V. though not in an equal degree of honour and confidence; for *Charles*, who was a young man, did not make the ſame account of that rigid virtue which had been ſo highly valued by his grandfather; for this reaſon, he immediately obeyed *Adrian* VI. who invited him to *Rome*; but this Pope dying ſoon after, and *Caraffa* being diſpleaſed at the licentiouſneſs of thoſe times, he reſigned the Archbiſhopric of *Theatea* in the kingdom of *Naples*, which *Julius* II. *Adrian*'s ſucceſſor, on account of his rare merit, had conferred on him, and entered the order of *regular clerks* lately founded, who, from the city of which he had been Biſhop, were called *Theatins*. He lived ſeveral years with his new aſſociates at *Venice*, in ſuch a manner as to riſe in the reputation he had before attained; for which *Paul* III. in 1536, called him to *Rome*, and, againſt his will, created him Cardinal.

In this poſt he continued the ſame courſe of life he had hitherto held, and, during twenty years, was a pattern of a blameleſs prelate, and an upright counſellor. His vote was ſo little ſubſervient to party, or the private inclinations of the Popes, that he reſiſted *Paul* III. though he had made him Cardinal, with great conſtancy; and being requeſted by *Julius*

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I have given the Reader this letter at length, as a proof of the LEGATE's friendſhip having been proof

III. to conſent to his brother's adopted ſon being honoured with the purple, he excuſed himſelf, by a note, from coming to the conſiſtory where the affair was to be carried, or voting for it, or having any concern in it. The ſame liberty of ſpeech and ſentiment appeared on all other occaſions: he maintained with vigour the authority of the holy See, the dignity of the prieſthood, and the integrity of the Chriſtian religion, and when incroachments were made on them, he placed himſelf in the breach. On *Julius'* death he gave a great ſpecimen of generoſity in promoting the election of *Marcellus* II. though four and twenty years younger than himſelf; which added ſuch eminence to his former character, that, on this Pope's death, which happened a few days after, he was choſen to ſucceed him.

But theſe great qualities were vitiated by a fierce and obſtinate temper, a haughty and aſpiring diſpoſition, and a mind incapable of yielding to oppoſition, and greedy, above meaſure, of command. "Cæterùm his tot virtutibus inerat ingenium ferox et pervicax, et elatus animus vaſtuſque, et adverſanti neſciens cedere, prorſuſque imperii nimius." *Gratiani, de caſ. vir. illuſtr.* pag. 316. This gave riſe to the perpetual enmity between him and *Charles* V. and his ſon *Philip*, which was inflamed by the fraud and ſelfiſh views of thoſe who had his confidence, and at length broke out into open war. Beſides an inclination to the *French* faction at *Naples*, which the *Caraffa* family had always diſcovered, the Pope had contracted an averſion to *Charles*, whilſt he was at the court of *Spain*. When the *French* army was cut off at the ſiege of *Naples*, his family had ſuffered every kind of hardſhip from the victorious *Spaniards*. The Pope himſelf, when he was Archbiſhop of *Theatea*, had been excluded, without any ſufficient cauſe, from the council of ſtate; and afterwards, when *Paul* III. nominated him to the See of *Naples*, he was a long time kept out of poſſeſſion. After the death of this Pontiff, the whole weight of *Spaniſh* influence was employed to hinder him of the Popedom, and the ſame practiſed again at the deceaſe of *Julius*. At length, in oppoſition to all their efforts, he was raiſed to that ſupreme dignity in an extreme old age, being in his eightieth year, and for that reaſon alone leſs formidable to his adverſaries.

The *Spaniards* could not but ſuſpect a perſon, to whom they had done ſo many ill ſervices, and who, before his elevation,

proof to all trials; and as it ſhews his concern for the public; and the decent freedom which he uſed with



vation, had given ſuch ſigns of his diſpoſitions towards them, as were by no means equivocal. He had accuſed the Emperor, in public conſiſtory, of favouring the *Lutheran* hereſy from political views; and though, when there was occaſion, he had treated the *French* with the ſame freedom, yet the *Spaniards* highly reſented this ſpeech; and when *Charles*'s Ambaſſador complained of the affront offered their maſter, he was ſo far from making an apology, that his anſwer was more exaſperating than his firſt diſcourſe. I have already ſpoken of his deſign to drive the *Spaniards* out of *Naples*. When *Charles* V. reſigned the empire to his brother, he refuſed to ratify the ceſſion, as being made without his conſent, which thoſe who were ſkilled in the pontifical and imperial laws aſſerted to have been neceſſary: and when *Ferdinand*'s ambaſſadors came to pay him the accuſtomed homage, he obſtinately refuſed to receive them, or to confirm his title.

He was no ſooner made Pope, but the mutual animoſities he and the court of *Madrid* had long entertained, began to declare themſelves. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who had been often refuſed audience, preſenting himſelf abruptly to the Pope whilſt he was at table, he commanded him to depart his preſence, and, if he did not, the title of *Philip*'s Ambaſſador ſhould avail him little. Being reduced to the greateſt extremities after the battle of St. *Quintin*'s, and almoſt a priſoner in *Rome* itſelf, he was obliged to make peace: yet even then, vanquiſhed as he was, he exerted the ſame ſpirit he had always ſhewn, and ſeemed to give, rather than accept the conditions of agreement; one of which was, that the Duke of *Alva*, who commanded the *Spaniſh* army, and had plundered the Pope's territories, and lain ſiege to his capital, ſhould preſent himſelf before him in the poſture of a ſuppliant, and aſk pardon on his knees.

His mind ſeemed rather exulcerated with the bad ſucceſs of the war, than ſoothed with its concluſion. When he was yet Cardinal, as *Luther*'s errors had not only overſpread *Germany*, but threatened *Italy*, he had prevailed on *Paul* III. to ſet up the inquiſition at *Rome*, and himſelf was placed at the head of it. He exerciſed this office with a ſeverity which raiſed complaints, to which he paid little regard, and was never known to have ſhewn any favour, by whomſoever aſked. A melancholy inſtance of the abuſe to which this tribunal is liable, increaſed the public uneaſineſs, and averſion to it. One of thoſe

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with his ſuperiors; and, above all the reſt, that perpetual attention to the cauſe of virtue and religion,

who are employed to bring in informations, had endeavoured to aſperſe the greateſt and beſt men in *Rome*, and had not ſpared the moſt eminent members of the ſacred College. His villany, indeed, was at laſt detected, and ended in his own deſtruction, (*R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 4ta, pag. 101.). And now, ſince *Paul*'s Pontificate, the priſons were every day crowded with unhappy wretches of all ſorts, and a general hatred of the preſent adminiſtration, and a fear of ſtill greater evil took up every one's mind.

But nothing inflamed the public indignation ſo much as the arrogance and profligateneſs of his brother's ſons; the eldeſt of whom, *Charles Caraffa*, when he was Cardinal, on account of his diſorders, he forbid his ſight. But being raiſed to the Papacy, the nephew, by an artful hypocriſy, had ſo inſinuated himſelf into his uncle's good graces, that he often ſaid to his friends, he was thankful to heaven for this ſignal reformation in ſo near a relation. In conſequence of this good opinion, he made him his chief miniſter and created him Cardinal, though he had always lived in the licentiouſneſs of camps, and had not one quality either of a clergyman, a Chriſtian, or a man of probity. He inriched alſo *John*, the ſecond brother, with the duchy of *Paliano* and other eſtates, which were confiſcated from the *Colonna* family, for having ſided with the *Spaniards*; and gave *Anthony*, his third nephew, the territories which were taken from the Count of *Balneo*, on a like ſubject. Theſe three brothers, though diſſimilar in their vices, were equally the object of univerſal hatred; and though they diſagreed in other reſpects, they obſerved an inviolable concord in keeping each other's diſorders ſecret from their uncle, and not ſuffering any perſon to approach him, from whom they ran any riſk of being diſcovered. Thus, while he was making laws and curbing public vice, he was a perfect ſtranger to what was going forward within his palace and in his own family, which cauſed his own virtues and their faults to be equally odious.

When the latter had exceeded all bounds, one, whoſe name has been concealed, had the courage to inform the Pope of them; and as the evidence was given ſo as to deſerve credit, the Pope heard it with a ſuitable indignation; and it being late in the evening, he only then gave orders that none of his relations ſhou'd be admitted into his preſence, and that the ſacred College ſhould meet the next day. Here he reproached the Fathers with not informing him of what ſo nearly concerned

gion, by which he regulated, and to which he referred every thing elſe. SECT. XI.

The

eerned the public good and his own reputation; though having been ſo wickedly betrayed by his own family, he ſaid, he ought to pardon the ſilence of ſtrangers. He then inveighed with great bitterneſs againſt the guilty, and deprived Cardinal *Caraffa* of the government of *Bologna*, and all public charges; and *John*, the ſecond brother, of the military command over the Papal forces throughout the whole eccleſiaſtical ſtate; and *Anthony*, the third, of the guard of the palace; and commanded them and all his other relations, except Cardinal *Alfonſus*, ſon of *Anthony Caraffa*, a young man univerſally eſteemed, to leave *Rome* before night, and aſſigned to his nephews the places of their baniſhment. The vehemence of his temper made him threaten with the ſevereſt treatment thoſe who aſſiſted them in any manner whatſoever; adding, they deſerved a much more rigorous chaſtiſement, which, by a denunciation that was fully verified, he ſaid, he had reſerved to his ſucceſſor. He was endowed with great eaſe and gravity in ſpeaking, and, when he was angry, his look alone was terrible. The two following inſtances are ſufficient to ſhew the terror he ſtruck in his hearers on this occaſion, and in all who were informed on what had paſſed. A neice of the Pope came to *Rome* that very day, having heard nothing of the diſgrace of her family, and being excluded the palace, nor received by the nobility, could not get admittance into any of the public inns, but was obliged to take up with the wretched entertainment of a lodging in the ſuburbs. And Cardinal *Caraffa*, who was grievouſly ſick at *Marino*, the place of his baniſhment, having ſent to *Rome* for the help of phyſicians, none durſt attend him, or even mention his caſe to the Pope. After this ſignal act of juſtice, he took off the taxes and other burdens which, without his knowledge, the brothers had lain on the people, and deprived all who had been promoted by them of their poſts. He ſurvived theſe reformations only five months, and being near his end, he prepared himſelf for it with great attention, and received all the ſacred rites with a ſingular ſenſe of religion: after which, the Cardinals being admitted to give him the laſt marks of their duty, he exhorted them, as they ſtood round his bed, to chooſe a perſon to ſucceed him whom they judged worthy that ſupreme poſt, and who was beſt qualified to recall the decayed diſcipline of Chriſtianity to its primitive vigour. The ſeverity to which he had long inured his mind, did not leave him in his lateſt mo-

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The end propoſed by the foregoing letter was of too much importance not to deſerve that every meaſure ſhould be made uſe of, by which it

ments; and having collected all his ſtrength to make a pane-
15th *Sept.* 1559. gyric on the inquiſition, which he judged neceſſary in thoſe circumſtances, he expired.

His death was no ſooner conjectured rather than known, but the joy it cauſed was ſo univerſal, that the people of *Rome* left off all buſineſs and met in the Capitol. Here, their hatred being now no longer under any reſtraint, they immediately came to a reſolution, that all ſtatues and monuments of the late Pope and his family ſhould be effaced: and being now in the firſt tranſports with which the novelty of freedom, and rage and revenge, intoxicate the multitude, they made an onſet on that ſtatue which themſelves had erected at the beginning of the Pontificate, at their own expence, and having pulled it from the pedeſtal, and broken it to pieces, they rolled the head about the ſtreets, and dragged it through the kennels, with every kind of inſult and mockery, till ſome perſons more conſiderate than the reſt, being ſhocked with the indignity of ſuch a ſight, threw it into the *Tiber*. The next object of their fury were the priſons, which they broke open and releaſed the criminals; and coming to that of the inquiſition, where ſome heretics, or perſons accuſed of being ſo, were detained, they ſet them at liberty. But in this latter proceeding, a regularity was obſerved, which is ſeldom the attendant of popular tumults; for the people, to ſhew they acted not on any diſregard to religion, but from hatred to the late Pontiff, exacted of every one they ſet free an oath to adhere, for the future, to the Church of *Rome*, and ſubmit to her authority. I ſhall finiſh what I had to ſay on this ſubject by an inſtance of the dread which the bare idea of *Paul* IV. had left on the minds of his ſubjects. In the height of theſe Bacchanalian riots a rumour was ſpread, that the Pope was yet alive, and in a fair way of recovery. On this, every thing was immediately quieted, and the only concern of each one was to ſcreen and ſave himſelf.

If the Reader deſires to be informed in a greater detail of this Pope's character, and the fate of his three nephews, he may find it in *Gratiani*, Biſhop of *Amelia*, a cotemporary writer, in his treatiſe *de caſibus illuſtrium virorum*, under the title, *de Carolo Caraffa Cardinale, et Joanne Paliani Duce, fratribus*, related with a freedom and eloquence equal to any part of the *Greek* or *Roman* Hiſtory. *Foliéta*, *Caſtaldi* and others, have alſo wrote this Pope's life.

might

might be gained. The LEGATE, therefore, wrote at the ſame time, and on the ſame ſubject, to the Cardinal of *Trani*, who, by the letter, ſeems to have had a great ſhare in the Pope's confidence; and having lain before him the difficulties under which the public cauſe and his own reputation laboured, deſires his intereſt in order to remove them. "I have written, ſays he, to the Pope on a ſubject, of which your Lordſhip may inform yourſelf by the copy of the letter I ſend you; but becauſe I have always known you very zealous for his Holineſs's honour, and very equitable to myſelf, it is proper I ſhould give you a more direct information of it. The caſe, indeed, ſeems to require a mediator of this character, to bring it to ſuch an iſſue as the public utility ſtands in need of; though, to be plain, nothing leſs than the hand of God can cauſe the ſcandals to ceaſe, which are already cauſed in part, and others with which the nation is ſtill threatened. I have informed his Holineſs, that I am by no means at a loſs to clear myſelf, could this juſtification ſuppreſs the offence which the *Engliſh* church has taken at the late proceedings: this, which I have more at heart than any other conſideration, cauſes my ſolicitude; for having in great meaſure prevailed on my country to embrace the doctrine they had forſaken, by my own conſtancy in it, what muſt they think, if they continue to hear that I am ſuſpected on this head by the chief Biſhop himſelf? For though his Holineſs, for any thing I know to the contrary, has not yet openly declared himſelf, yet, while he acts in this manner, and ſuffers legal procedures to be carried on, which eaſily perſuade others that theſe are his ſentiments, you cannot but ſee, my Lord, how fatal a ſtumbling-block this muſt be, and in whoſe power it is to remove it. But of this I ſhall ſay

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no more, but wait his Holineſs's deciſion. In the mean time, as there are not wanting many perſons of integrity, who blame me much for being ſilent, when the welfare of my country is at ſtake, I defend myſelf by the example of that holy man *Baſil*, whoſe piety and learning have deſervedly gained him the ſurname of *Great*, and in whoſe works your Lordſhip is remarkably converſant. When envious and ill-deſigning perſons had ſpread ſlanders concerning his orthodoxy, and his friends were earneſt with him to write ſomething in his own defence, he made this reply, that if his paſt conduct did not ſatisfy his brethren of the rectitude of his ſentiments, he had nothing further to alledge: for how can I expect, ſays he, that a ſhort treatiſe will prevail on thoſe, whom the evidence of ſo much experience has not perſuaded? Whether I have a right to make uſe of the ſame form of ſpeech, you, my Lord, who are acquainted with a great part of my life, may determine.

I have hitherto, by my own choice, imitated the forbearance of this holy man; but whether I am to imitate him in writing and defending myſelf, depends on his Holineſs: for the ſame great Doctor, when he had been ſilent for a time, and at laſt thought himſelf obliged to ſhut the mouth of ſlander, writes in this manner: "As yet, I have held my peace; but ſhall I always do ſo, and give occaſion to have my ſilence brought an evidence againſt me? Nor can I think any other behaviour will become me, eſpecially as the inferences drawn from my not ſpeaking in ſuch a cauſe will be more to my diſadvantage than any thing my accuſers can object to me." But whether I am to purſue this method or not, depends, as I have ſaid, wholly on the Pope, who, by his authority,

authority, may ſilence ſlander, and, to the great comfort of all good men, put an end to ſcandals. SECT. XI.

"If I ſtand in particular need of comfort, and expect it from his Holineſs, no leſs than St. *Auſtin*, the apoſtle of *England*, from St. *Gregory*; I am conſcious to myſelf of a like diligence and good will in procuring the emolument of the Chriſtian cauſe in this kingdom, which St. *Auſtin* exerted; and I exert it in more difficult circumſtances, as I every day experience that it is a work leſs laborious to inform untaught minds, than to unteach thoſe who have imbibed erroneous doctrines. But enough on this ſubject: all that remains is, that we join in our common petitions to the Almighty, that he would be pleaſed to diſpoſe all things for the advantage of his Church, the reputation of the holy See, and the honour of the Sacred College, of which I am a member." *Greenwich, 30th March 1558.*

This is the laſt mention we find of this affair. Whether the Pope's anger was appeaſed at ſo reaſonable a remonſtrance, and innocence pleaded with ſo much temper; or whether the Queen's authority, the circumſtances of the *Engliſh* nation, and the ſhort time the LEGATE ſurvived, hindered any further proſecution, is uncertain. The CARDINAL continued to exerciſe his Legantine juriſdiction, and one of his hiſtorians ſays, the the Pope put off the final deciſion of the cauſe; another, that he diſſembled his reſentment *. But whatever were the Pontiff's views, the LEGATE's Chriſtian ſimplicity and moderation, at ſuch a criſis, have few examples. The eſtabliſhment of

* Pontifex Reginæ literis precibuſque et POLI ſatisfactione acceptis, non quidem eum abſolvit, ſed Britannicarum rerum, ac *Mariæ* gratiâ, cauſæ cognitionem diſtulit. *Gratiani*, pag. 227.

Iracundiam multo antè conceptam diſſimulavit. *Poli* Vita, fol. 36. à tergo.

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the Catholic Religion and his own reputation in ſo nice a point, were not able to make him ſwerve in any ſingle inſtance from the deference he owed to a ſuperior power, though it purſued his innocence, dignity, and merit, with repeated acts of enmity. He wrote a treatiſe in his own juſtification; but looking over the performance, ſays the writer of his life, and perceiving it would be unfavourable to the Pope's reputation, he threw it into the fire, and repeated thoſe words of *Deuteronomy*, *Non revelabis verenda patris tui.*

It may ſeem ſomething extraordinary that a perſon of the Biſhop of *Amelia*'s diſcernment ſhould paſs the following judgment on the facts I have related; "that the CARDINAL's impeachment, and the repeal of the Legantine juriſdiction, tho' it leſſened nothing of his power and authority in *England*, yet it ſeems to have impaired ſomething of his dignity and fame, and to have caſt a certain ſhade round that glory he had before attained *." But, ſure, whoever conſiders the injuſtice of his ſufferings, and his behaviour under them, muſt confeſs they ſet his character in a more illuſtrious light than the moſt uninterrupted felicity could have done, and gave him an opportunity of exerting the rareſt and moſt difficult virtues, thoſe which are tried by adverſity.

21ſt *Sept.* 1558.

The Emperor *Charles* V. died about the time I am ſpeaking of, and the various connexions he had with CARDINAL POLE, ever ſince he was engaged in public life, which we have ſeen through this work, require that ſomething ſhould be ſaid of him in this place. He had already left a world,

* Cæterum, hæc et nominis delatio, et ablatæ Legationis nota, ut potentiam POLO nihil imminuit, ita dignitatem famamque apud ſuos non nihil labefactâſſe, et magnitudini et gloriæ ejus neſcio quid nubis obduxiſſe viſa eſt. *Gratiani*, de caſibus virorum illuſtrium, pag. 227.

which

which he had never ſuffered to be at reſt, nor enjoyed tranquillity in it, till he reſigned his ſtates to a ſon ſtill more deſigning, though leſs active than himſelf. He was maſter of thoſe qualities, on which the vanity of mankind has been pleaſed to raiſe greatneſs of character in Sovereigns; and may juſtly be placed amongſt thoſe, of whom one, who was qualified to make ſuch an eſtimate, ſays, *the eyes of a fool are in the extremities of the earth* *: for he informed the ſtates of *Burgundy* aſſembled at the ceremony of his abdication, that ſince the ſeventeenth year of his age, he had made nine expeditions into *Germany*; ſix into *Spain*; ſeven into *Italy*; four into *France*; ten into the *Netherlands*; two into *England*; as many into *Africa*; and had croſſed the ſea eleven times †. After which reſtleſs agitation, in which he equally verified in his own perſon a compariſon of another author, as little favourable to the ſenſeleſs projects of ambition as him I have quoted, that *a fool's heart is like the wheel of a wain, which is always in motion*; he finiſhed his days in a monaſtery ſituated in the delightful plains of *Eſtramadura*.

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Prov. xvii. 24.

Eccleſ. xxxiii. 5.

A writer of great repute ſuppoſes he was guided in this extraordinary ſtep by the example of ſeveral great perſonages of royal rank, at the head of whom he places *Diocleſian*, "the beſt of Princes, ſays he, if we ſet aſide the wrongs which the prejudices of Paganiſm cauſed him to do the Chriſtians. This Prince having governed the empire twenty years with the moſt conſummate virtue and prudence, reſigned it, and led a private life at *Spalatro* in *Dalmatia*; in which retreat the culture of his gardens was his chief ſatisfaction ‡."

The

* Oculi ſtulti in finibus terræ. Edit. Vulg.

† Strada, de bello belgico, Decadis 1mæ, lib. 1. pag. 7.

‡ Nec deerant exempla ..... atque imprimis *Diocletiani*, longè optimi Imperatoris, ſi ea excipias, quæ ille Gentilium errore

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The Reader may perceive the Author dwells with a particular complacence on the ſubject of this Emperor; for though he mentions other Princes, who had likewiſe retired from the adminiſtration of public affairs, he only gives the Reader a liſt of their names, except of one *French* King; and is ſo wild as to ſuppoſe that *Charles* V. in his retreat, was chiefly influenced by the example of *Dioclefian*. I don't chooſe to aſſign the cauſe of a turn of mind, which makes men, in all other reſpects capable of forming the moſt correct judgment of perſons and actions, then only fall into perverſeneſs and folly, when it depreciates the Chriſtian cauſe, and ſets off to advantage her moſt declared enemies. Of this, *Thuanus* has here given a memorable inſtance: for *this beſt of Emperors* is repreſented both by Chriſtian and Pagan writers, ſome of whom were his cotemporaries, as having exhauſted the *Roman* provinces by taxes, and being given to a deſtructive extravagance in building, and extreme vanity in his dreſs; of rapaciouſneſs and the moſt ſordid avarice; of cruelty and an impious arrogance, which went ſo far as to cauſe himſelf to be treated as a God: not to ſay any thing of the wrongs he did to the whole body of the Chriſtians, and the numbers he put to death, and ſome, by the moſt exquiſite torments.

Theſe authors accuſe him alſo of having multiplied the provinces of the empire, not by the conqueſt of new, but by a diviſion of the ancient; and by this means to have burdened the

errore deceptus, in Chriſtianos peccavit: qui poſt adminiſtratum virtute ſummâ ac prudentiâ totos xx annos imperium, eo ſe abdicavit, anno Chriſti 308, et *Salonæ* in *Dalmatiâ* vitam hortorum culturâ delectans, privatus tranſegit..... His et aliis exemplis confirmatus *Cæſar*, &c. *Thuanus*, lib. 16. pag. 506. D.

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ſtate with an incredible addition of civil and mi- SECT. XI.
litary employments, and to have weakened the ſtrength of *Rome* by reducing the militia, and expoſed the empire to danger *.

A very fine genius and judge of human nature ſeems to have looked on this retreat of *Charles* V. as the effect of a reſtleſs temper, rather than the reſult of a mind weaned from the world, and fixed on the love and attainment of a better; and introduces him as much taken up, in the ſolitude of St. *Juſt*, with his ſon's projects, as he had formerly been with his own †. Another writer, who is very partial to him, and to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, deſcribes his amuſements in his retirement as fitter to divert a ſchool-boy, than to dignify the retreat of a great Prince. It is true, he ſays, he left them off in great meaſure before he died ‡, and the general tenour of the laſt part of his life deſerves our praiſe, and perhaps our admiration.

The death of the Queen of *England* happened ſoon after that of the Emperor. She was fallen into a declining ſtate of health, which proceeded from uneaſineſs of mind, no leſs than a bad habit of body. Her phyſicians had miſtaken a dropſy for the ſymptoms of pregnancy, and brought on the diſorder inſtead of removing it. The victory we had gained at St. *Quintin*'s did not hinder the *French*, a few months after, from taking *Calais*, the ſcanty remains of all our poſſeſſions on the continent. She was ſo ſenſible of this loſs as to ſay, was her body to be opened after her death, that town would be found engraved on her heart. The death of the Emperor, who was her neareſt

* *Lact.* de mort. Perſ. *Euſeb.* Chron. *Aurel.* Vic. *Eutro.* *Spart.* *Theop. la Marca.*

† *Fenelon*, Dialogues des Morts, tom. 2. dial. xi.

‡ *Strada* de bello Belg. dec. 1ma, lib 1.

relation

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relation by the mother's ſide, and who had been her friend in her day of diſtreſs, though it made no change in the affairs of *Europe*, wrought on her; as every preſſure is a caſting weight when the ſcale is turned. Another ſubject of a more delicate nature, the abſence of her huſband, is ſaid to have waſted her ſpirits and brought on a ſlow fever, of which ſhe died on the 17th of *November*, 1558, in the forty-third year of her age.

As moſt of our modern hiſtorians have either not allowed or miſrepreſented the laudable qualities of this Princeſs; or paſſed them over in ſilence, and dwelt at large on the failings of her government, it is no more than common equity to ſay, on this ſubject, what cannot be queſtioned with truth, or be concealed without malignity. I ſhall not repeat the ſeveral particulars I have had occaſion to relate in other parts of this work, and which the Reader has ſeen in their reſpective places. And becauſe the candour of Proteſtant hiſtorians has fully juſtified the much injured character of this Princeſs, I ſhall content myſelf with copying it from theſe originals, and almoſt in their own words.

Her private life was always ſtrict and unblemiſhed, and the duties of religion were the great concern to which ſhe referred every thing elſe; and a future life, in her eſtimate, overbalancing the preſent, ſhe ſet conſcience above a crown; and when the former was at ſtake, uſed no equivocation, but was what ſhe appeared to be, without diſguiſing her belief or practice, either through fear or flattery. On the ſame Chriſtian principle, ſhe allowed herſelf few of thoſe diverſions which abound in the palaces of the great, was regular in her devotions, and endeavoured to expiate and atone for the ſacrileges of the two laſt reigns. The licence alſo of the court in the ſucceeding

reign

reign was a memorable contraſt of the regularity of hers; "and though that court has been generally ſuppoſed eminent above all others for ſtrictneſs of manners, and a juſt regard for religion and piety," it is repreſented, by a voucher above any exception, as *a ſcene of all enormities, and where wickedneſs reigned in the higheſt degree* *. Next to this pious and religious demeanour of the Queen to her Maker, her compaſſion for the poor, and liberality and munificence to the decayed nobility and churchmen, were moſt remarkable: of which theſe are a few inſtances, among many others: ſhe reſtored the Duke of *Somerſet*'s ſon to blood; gave back the eſtates ſeized by her father and brother, remitted the ſubſidies paſſed in the laſt reign, and erected anew the Biſhopric of *Durham*. How far ſhe was from a ſanguinary diſpoſition, appears from the almoſt univerſal pardon granted to thoſe who were engaged in that dangerous and capital rebellion, in the beginning of her reign; in her reſtaining the *præmunire* act, which her father had extended both as to perſons and caſes; and repealing all offences which had been made felony ſince the firſt year of *Henry* VIII. Beſides theſe ſalutary laws, ſhe made others for the encouragement of huſbandry and the woollen manufactory; and would have been, as one of the writers I have mentioned expreſſes himſelf, wor-

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* This perſon is *Nicholas Faunt*, ſecretary to *Francis Walſingham*, and one of the conſpicuous characters of that and the following reign. In his letter to *Anthony Bacon*, he teſtifies an extreme diſpleaſure at the diſorders of Queen *Elizabeth*'s court, of which, he ſays, he was conſtrained to be a witneſs; and where there was ſuch a progreſſive depravity in whatever concerned morals and religion, that, for the tranquillity of his mind, he preferred a private ſtation to a poſt and expectations which could not be held but on ſuch hard terms to his conſcience. *Memoirs of the reign of Q. Eliz. by* T. Birch, *D. D.* vol. 1. pages 26. and 39.

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thy of our higheſt commendations, had as few acts of cruelty been done under her reign as were done by her *."

The Queen's death preceded that of CARDINAL POLE's but by a very ſhort interval. He was taken with a quartan ague, which every day impaired his ſtrength and reminded him of the end, to which he was haſtening. He regulated what he would have done in caſe of death, with the ſame prudence and tranquillity, which had appeared in his other actions, and made a will, in which, beſides other inſtances of his piety and religion, he declares his attachment and filial obedience to the Church of *Rome*, and to the ſupreme Biſhop of it. He takes notice, that he had ever reſpected the then Pope, *Paul* IV. as a father, before he was raiſed to the Pontificate; and ſince had always promoted his honour; and in all the embaſſies which he had performed for the Apoſtolic See, and his other employments, he was not conſcious to himſelf of having had any thing in view, but the dignity and advantage of

* *Collier*, Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. 2. b. 6. pag. 406. *Camden*'s Introduction to the Annals of Queen *Elizabeth*. *Echard*, pag. 327. Sir *R. Baker*, under the title *of the Queen's perſonage and conditions*. *Fuller*, Church Hiſt. book 8. page 42.

Notwithſtanding what I have here related from writers of the Church of *England*, Dr. *Burnet* affirms (Hiſt. Ref. part 3. pag. 268.) "that it does not appear that there was any one great or good deſign ever ſet on foot for the wealth or glory of the nation, during this Princeſs's reign." But this writer could beſtow praiſe and obloquy juſt as it ſuited his purpoſe; and, through the chaos of his Hiſtory of the Reformation, the Reader may apply to him what *Virgil* ſays of *Dido* expiring in the agonies of ſuicide,

Oculis errantibus, alto
Quæſivit cœlo lucem, ingemuitque repertâ.

Thrice op'd her heavy eyes, and ſought the light,
But, having found it, ſicken'd at the ſight.

the

the Chriſtian cauſe: that he now, with all reverence, aſked his Holineſs's bleſſing, and wiſhed him peace and ſafety and every comfort. He mentions, with a peculiar ſignification of goodwill, *Henry Pening*, whom he ſtiles his Chamberlain and Receiver-General, and ſays he was perfectly well acquainted with all his concerns, and would be of great uſe to his executor. He names likewiſe the following perſons, *Nicholas Heath*, Archbiſhop of *York* and Chancellor of *England*; *Thomas*, Biſhop of *Ely*; and his beloved kinſman, *Edward Haſtings*, Chamberlain to her Majeſty; Mr. *Boxal*, her Majeſty's Secretary; Mr. *Edward Walgrave*, Chancellor of the duchy of *Lancaſter*; Mr. *Cordel*, Maſter of the Rolls; and Mr. *Henry Cole*, his Vicar-General; and deſires them to aſſiſt the Lord *Priuli* in the executorſhip, and bequeaths fifty pounds to each. He appoints this nobleman his ſole heir and executor, deſiring him to pay a few legacies, and to give to each of his houſhold, who had followed him out of foreign countries, what he judged their merit and ſervices intitled them to *. SECT. XI.

This generous friend informed the CARDINAL, he would very willingly take on himſelf the executorſhip, and diſtribute his effects as he ſhould be pleaſed to direct; but would take no part of the inheritance: and on the CARDINAL's inſiſting on his acceptance of ſomething that might be a memorial of the laſting friendſhip they had borne each other, *Priuli* replied, that from the beginning of their acquaintance he had other advantages in view, and had already reaped them from his example and ſociety: and all he accepted of ſo conſiderable an inheritance was two prayer-

* Teſtamentum CARD. POLI ex Cod. MS. Bibliothecæ *Ambroſianæ*.

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books, which the frequent uſe his friend had made of them, had rendered valuable.

The honour due to a friendſhip, of which perhaps there is no other inſtance, and which equally redounds to the credit of both, well deſerves, that, beſides what has been occaſionally ſaid in different parts of this work, I ſhould here give the Reader a further account of a perſon who was joined to our illuſtrious countryman by the ſtricteſt intimacy and benevolence.

LEWIS PRIULI was a *Venetian* nobleman; and having, as has been related, contracted a familiarity with young POLE when they were both ſtudents at the univerſity of *Padua*, was ſo charmed with his uncommon merit, that, from that time, he never after left him. The rank which his family held in the republic, and his perſonal accompliſhments, intitled him to the higheſt expectations both in his own country and at *Rome*; all which he undervalued, that he might be the conſtant attendant on a foreigner in his embaſſies, voyages and labours, and partake in all the good which his friend either deſigned or performed; and being a perſon of ſingular addreſs, was every where very uſeful to him. The Senate of *Venice* having named him among the four, out of whom *Julius* III. was to chooſe a ſucceſſor to the Biſhop of *Breſcia*, the Pope nominated *Priuli*, with the greateſt commendation of his virtue and abilities. But it was with extreme difficulty that his friends and relations prevailed on him to accept of this reverſionary grant, leſt the incumbent's death, who was very old, ſhould oblige him to ſeparate himſelf from the LEGATE *. *Thuanus* reports, that he refuſed the purple for the ſame reaſon. He ſurvived his illuſtrious friend only twenty

* *Poli* Vita, pag. 37.

months,

months, which he employed in collecting his effects, which were diſperſed in various places, and diſpoſing of them with a fidelity equal to the confidence repoſed in him. SECT. XI.

The CARDINAL having made his will in this manner, and his diſeaſe ſtill increaſing, he wrote to the Queen ſome time before his death the following letter †: "I deſire your Grace ſhould be informed, that though the length and vehemence of my diſtemper be ſuch as might juſtify my caſting aſide all cares of this world, and transferring my thoughts on that, into which I am now going to enter, yet I think it a duty to leave all perſons ſatisfied with my behaviour, and, above all others, your Grace, whom it has pleaſed Almighty God to place in ſo exalted a ſtation. For which reaſon I ſend you the Dean of *Worceſter*, my chaplain, whoſe fidelity I have long approved, and intreat your Grace to give credit to whatever he ſhall ſay on my behalf. I make no doubt but you will be ſatisfied with it, and I beg of Almighty God to proſper you to his honour, your own comfort, and the welfare of this realm." 4th *Oct.* 1558.

When he had dictated this letter, he wholly called off his thoughts from all earthly concerns, and fixed them on that bleſſed region which was now opening to his view. He cauſed the holy Scriptures and other books of piety to be read frequently to him, and profeſſed he found a ſenſible refreſhment from the meditation of theſe divine leſſons; and received the holy Euchariſt with ſingular ſentiments of devotion. Though the fever had reduced him to great weakneſs, he would every day aſſiſt at the holy ſacrifice, which was offered up in his apartment, and at the elevation

† Publiſhed by *T. Hearne*, *Oxf.* 1716, pag. 157, from the MS. Col. of *T. Smith*.

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of the Hoſt would be raiſed on his knees, to adore in that humble poſture his own and the common Saviour of mankind.

He had frequent intelligence during his illneſs of the Queen's declining ſtate, and beſides the letter I have cited, frequent meſſages paſſed between them; and as her death could not long be concealed from him, he received the news of it with great ſteadineſs, and began to diſcourſe with a ſtrength of voice and preſence of mind which ſurpriſed all who were preſent, on the wonderful providence of God in his dealings towards them both: he doubted not, he ſaid, but that the ſame divine ſuperintendence which had hitherto watched over them, and made their lives have a great reſemblance to each other, would likewiſe be pleaſed to put an end to them within the ſame day; and that a confidence in the ſame mercy made him truſt an all-good and all-powerful Being would not intirely forſake his country; and that he acquieſced, as he had always done, in his diſpenſations.

The day before he died, of his own accord and without being reminded by any one, he deſired to receive the ſacrament of the laſt anointing, by which we are ſtrengthened to withſtand the laſt aſſault of our ſpiritual enemies, to bear up againſt the weakneſs of nature, and die the death of the righteous. And the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, who performed theſe rites, related to the author of his life, that, drawing towards his end, he aſked with his uſual ſedateneſs, if the ritual, which contains the recommendation of the departing ſoul, was at hand; and being anſwered it was, and the book ſhewn him, it is now, ſays he, time to make uſe of it; and retaining his uſual tranquillity to the laſt breath, he continued to ſpeak and act in theſe moments as in all the paſt, and paid the great debt

of

of nature in ſuch a manner that his countenance and the compoſure of his whole perſon had rather the appearance of a gentle ſleep than of death. He died on the morning of the 18th of *November*, 1558, two and twenty hours after the Queen, having lived fifty-eight years and ſix months *. SECT. XI.

His body was put into a leaden coffin and placed in a chamber of *Lambeth* palace, where he died, which was hung with black during forty days. An altar was placed in the apartment, and ſeveral maſſes ſaid every day for the repoſe of his ſoul. After which his corps was conveyed to *Canterbury* with great funeral pomp, and met by all orders of the citizens and the whole body of the clergy; and at his obſequies a diſcourſe in praiſe of the deceaſed was made in *Latin* and *Engliſh*. He was buried, as he had deſired, in St. *Thomas*'s chapel, with this ſhort epitaph, *Depoſitum Cardinalis Poli*, the remains of CARDINAL POLE.

I have frequently had occaſion to mention Cardinal *James Sadolet*, Biſhop of *Carpentras*, and his connexions with CARDINAL POLE, and I ſhall conclude the hiſtory of the life of the latter, with a letter from *Paul Sadolet* to the Lord *Priuli*, in which he expreſſes his own ſentiments and thoſe of the public on the CARDINAL's death. It was written ſix months after this incident, and is dated from *Carpentras*, in which Biſhopric he had ſucceeded his uncle, who had been dead, as we have ſeen elſewhere, ſeveral years.

" I have received your Lordſhip's letter, and with it the pledge of a friendſhip I ſet above all value, the remembrance which that incomparable man deſired, on his death-bed, I ſhould be aſſured of. This has renewed all the ſorrows with which I heard the firſt rumours of his death, and the

* Vita *Poli*, fol. 38. & ſeq.

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bare mention of it ſo oppreſſes me, that your Lordſhip muſt excuſe the diſorder and confuſion in which I now write. We were informed laſt winter of this loſs of the beſt of men, from uncertain and different accounts, which were too ſoon confirmed with the circumſtance of his dying on the ſame day with the Queen, and in ſuch honour and tranquillity that Providence ſeems to have declared itſelf in his favour, by taking him out of this life before the changes which have ſince happened. We have heard of his ſufferings, and of the manner in which he overcame the injuries the world did him; and of the invincible conſtancy, piety, and charity, with which he ſupported the weakneſſes of others: but theſe relations were very imperfect, on account of the diſtance of the places from whence they came, and becauſe our friends at *Rome*, in the confuſion of the late war, have been very ſparing of their intelligence, though we often wrote to them, and preſſed them on this head. On the whole, it appears with the greateſt evidence, that he has confuted all thoſe who would have depreſſed and ſlandered a character which was out of the reach of reproach, and has done it with ſuch moderation as muſt change the hearts of his adverſaries, if they are capable of relenting, and be to us the moſt ſalutary of all leſſons. This is particularly remarkable in the declaration of faith, which he makes in his laſt will, which is no more than a confirmation of what he ever believed and profeſſed.

"But what ſhall I ſay, my Lord, of the opinion he had of your merit, and the diſtinction with which he ſignified it? I don't know which of the two is to be accounted more fortunate, your Lordſhip in ſuch a teſtimony of your virtue and integrity, or the LEGATE in ſuch a friend who deſerved it. I have often read his will in numerous

numerous companies of perſons of quality, in order to ſpread his reputation as wide as depends on me, and I have never been able to do it with dry eyes. I could ſay much more to the ſame purpoſe, but the revolutions which have happened in *Italy*, in the country where he died, and elſewhere, are not ſuited to ſuch a ſubject. I have nothing more to wiſh, than that when your Lordſhip has complied with the truſt placed in you, we may meet and talk over theſe tranſactions without reſtraint, and ſhare in each other's ſorrows and comforts. In the mean time I ſhall ever cheriſh the memory of CARDINAL POLE, and pray to the Almighty, not ſo much for the repoſe of a ſoul, which I make no doubt of being already admitted into the joys of heaven; as that I may deſerve the honourable mention by which he thought fit, both during life, and in his laſt moments, to rank me amongſt his moſt valuable friends *." SECT. XI.

4th *July*, 1559.

* Ex Col. Epiſt. *Ital. Ber. Pini*, l. 3.

SECT.

## SECT. XII.

### *The Character of* CARDINAL POLE.

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THE life of CARDINAL POLE was a leſſon of ſuch univerſal inſtruction, that a review of it will be no leſs for the advantage of the Reader than for the honour of him, who is the ſubject of the work. I ſhall therefore draw, as it were, to one point, and repreſent in an uninterrupted view thoſe particular virtues which diſtinguiſhed the ſeveral parts of it, and which could not be related in the courſe of this hiſtory without too frequently interrupting the facts of which it is made up.

It may be proper to ſay ſomething of his figure and habit of body, before we ſpeak of the qualities of his mind *. He was of a middle ſtature, and of a healthy rather than robuſt conſtitution; though he was ſometimes ſubject to a defluxion, which fell on his arm and cauſed an inflammation in his right eye. His complexion was fair, mixed with an agreeable vermilion, and his beard and hair, in his youth, of a light colour; his countenance was open and ſerene, enlivened with a chearful and pleaſant eye, the index of his mind, which was unſuſpecting, honeſt and benevolent. He was very abſtemious in his diet, and though he made two meals a day, he ſupped very ſparingly. The command over his appetite was ſuch, that no variety of meats and ſauces could prevail on him to uſe any food but what he found by experience to agree with him; and thoſe who eyed

* See the Appendix, Number IV.

him

him narrowly, remarked that he eat leſs of diſhes which were reliſhing and agreeable to his palate, than of others. His table was ſerved with a plenty and elegance which became his royal extraction, and the high ſtations to which he gradually roſe; and was open to the great number of noble and illuſtrious gueſts, who every where reſorted to him; and his oeconomy had no other rule, than that his expences ſhould not exceed his revenue. He ſlept but little, and generally roſe before day-light, and required ſo little attendance about his perſon, that he often roſe from bed, and dreſt himſelf, without any one's help. SECT. XII.

He was of a thoughtful caſt of mind, and ſuch as inclined him more to ſtudy and contemplation than to the employments of public life, and he converſed but little even with the perſons of his houſhold; yet in company, and at table particularly, he ſuited himſelf to the various tempers and callings of his gueſts, and made uſe of the great inſight he had in all branches of literature, and all ſorts of buſineſs, to make himſelf uſeful and agreeable to every one. This condeſcenſion was accompanied with ſuch dignity as made him equally reſpected and beloved, and no one preſumed to ſay or do any thing unbecoming, when he was preſent. Pope *Julius* III. was a remarkable inſtance of the ſtrength of this impreſſion, and uſed to ſay, that the bare preſence of the Cardinals *Marcellus* and POLE was ſufficient to cauſe him to behave and act as became his ſupreme ſtation.

His converſation was ſprightly and enlivened by frequent metaphors and alluſions, which were always appoſite to the ſubject from which they roſe; and ſeemed to preſent themſelves of their own accord; and they frequently occur in his writings. Several acute and facetious ſayings were marked in his diſcourſe, and, amongſt others,

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others, the following, which ſhew the readineſs with which he turned every thing to moral improvement; and though I am ſenſible of the diſadvantage ſuch relations lie under, and how much they loſe of the life and agreeableneſs they receive from the ſpeaker, I cannot but repeat them. I remember, ſays the author of his life, that mention being made of a certain prelate, who reſided at *Rome*, and neglected his dioceſe, and yet ſpoke very freely of others for doing ſo, he turned the diſcourſe by a pleaſantry, and ſaid, the Biſhop did like thoſe who eat garlic, not to be offended with its ſmell in others who did the ſame. Being told of a young man of parts and learning, who was too forward in giving his judgment; Learning, ſays he, in youth, has the ſame effect as new wine in the vat, which at firſt ferments, but being drawn off, and having collected its ſtrength, it at length ſettles. An aſtrologer telling him, he had gathered his high deſtiny from the conſtellation under which he was born; he anſwered, it might very well be, but the ſtar-gazer ought to have remembered the ſecond birth, which is obtained by baptiſm, and annuls the prognoſtics of the firſt. A perſon ſaying, that the ſtudy of ſacred literature ſhould ſo take us up, as to leave no leiſure for other ſtudies; and another replying, that other ſciences ſhould be called in as handmaids, the Cardinal replied, I ſuppoſe, Sir, you have read, that *Agar* was caſt out, becauſe ſhe was ſuch. He had frequently adviſed a Biſhop to leave *Rome*, and return to the care of his dioceſe; and on the Prelate's ſaying, he was ſetting out in order to ſtay there a month; he anſwered, I have at leaſt this ſatisfaction, that your puniſhment will be ſo much the lighter, *vapulabis minus*. Being deſired to read a letter written to a nobleman, on the death of a perſon who was very dear to him, which

which had great oſtentation of eloquence, and was in a very affected ſtile, he ſaid, he had never ſeen a letter of greater conſolation, ſince whoever read it could not refrain from laughter. Having heard a celebrated preacher, who had a high opinion of himſelf, and being aſked what he thought of him; very well, ſays he, but I would have him firſt preach to himſelf. A perſon of quality of *Rome*, who was making great improvements at his villa, ſaying to him, I hope your Lordſhip will ſee this place, thirty years hence, in its full beauty; the CARDINAL replied, I don't know, Sir, by what I have deſerved ſo ill of you, that you ſhould wiſh my baniſhment from my true country ſhould be prolonged to ſo diſtant a term; and therefore cannot accept your invitation. Having waited two days when he was in *Flanders*, for an audience of the Emperor; on the third, the Biſhop of *Arras* came to ſignify to him, that the Emperor ſent for him, and excuſed the delay, which had been cauſed by his Majeſty's indiſpoſition; truly, ſaid the CARDINAL, I thought it ſomething ſtrange, that having every day acceſs to almighty God in behalf of the Emperor, I ſhould be refuſed acceſs to the Emperor, when I came on the part of almighty God. Mention being made of a gentleman, who took great care of his beard, and ſaid it coſt him two crowns a month; the beard, therefore replied the CARDINAL, is of greater value than the head.

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He had an utter averſion to flattery and falſehood; and delivered his opinion with ſo good a grace, as not to diſpleaſe thoſe from whom he diſſented: and ſeveral of the ſacred college acknowledged that no one had ever taken offence at the ingenuous freedom with which he ſpoke his ſentiment in the conſiſtory: which, perhaps, could be ſaid of few or none but himſelf.

He

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He was wary and circumſpect in his ordinary converſation, even with his intimate friends; and nothing imprudent, or what might appear leſs becoming his perſon, was ever remarked to have paſſed his lips; and this was one of the indications of conſummate wiſdom, which his acquaintance chiefly admired.

His temper was open and ingenuous, being unacquainted with the wiles of policy, and the corruption of the great world. When he was in *Flanders*, whither *Julius* III. had ſent him to negotiate a peace between the Emperor and the *French* King, and a rumour was ſpread, that a courier, who was charged with ſeveral diſpatches, and, amongſt others, with ſome to the CARDINAL, had been intercepted; a diſcourſe aroſe concerning ſome perſons, who had reaſon to be anxious on that occaſion, leſt their deſigns ſhould come to light; for my own part, ſays CARDINAL POLE, I am perfectly eaſy on that ſubject, ſince I ought rather to wiſh that all mine were lain open. A ſentence worthy him who was conſcious of nothing but what was laudable.

His induſtry and application were equal to the extent and facility of his genius, and his leiſure hours were always employed either in writing or thinking on ſomething that might promote the ſervice of his Maker and the welfare of mankind. This diſpoſition ſeemed inbred in him, and made him obſerve with ſome uneaſineſs thoſe loiterers, who attend no calling, and whoſe time is a perpetual vacation. He deteſted the fooliſh and perverſe opinion of the vulgar, who look on a lazy and unprofitable life as the privilege of wealth and quality; whereas nothing, he ſaid, could be more foreign to a noble extraction, whoſe duty it was to be taken up with what was uſeful and honourable.

His

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His learning and eloquence in the *Latin* tongue have been acknowledged by all who are acquainted with his works, moſt of which he wrote in that language. He did not, however, always give that attention to correctneſs, in which the noted writers of his age, and particularly his intimate friends the Cardinals *Sadolet*, *Contareni*, and *Bembo* excelled; but where this is not overlooked, no writings of thoſe times are more finiſhed *. He had attained this ſkill in ſo eminent a degree at a very early period of life, that it does not appear capable of being carried to any higher perfection. In ſome of his works there is an exuberance of ſtile, which, if it had been reduced to the ancient *Roman* accuracy, would have added greatly to their merit. The ſame *Aſiatic* diffuſeneſs was obſerved in the *Roman* orator, and in both was owing to the wonderful fruitfulneſs of their genius, which furniſhed them on every ſubject with a variety of thoughts and expreſſions. In the latter years of his life, when he was taken up with the church affairs of a great people, his neglect of the graces of diction is very viſible: but though it takes off from the praiſe of the writer, it adds to that of the man. Notwithſtanding this diſadvantage, the uſe he had acquired in writing made his ſtile ſtill abound with beauties, which ſeemed to flow from him without his knowledge. His attention was great, and as he eaſily retained what he read, his knowledge of hiſtory was accurate and univerſal.

In his youth he was more delighted with *Plato* than *Ariſtotle*; but at length he applied himſelf wholly to ſacred ſtudies, and laid aſide all others. At firſt, he read the *Greek* and *Latin* expoſitors of

* Witneſs his life of *Longolius*, ſeveral letters to *Sadolet*, &c. and, among others, that placed at the end of this work. Appendix, N° II.

the

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the holy Scriptures; but afterwards, he ſtudied theſe only. A conſtant meditation on the Old and New Teſtament had made the knowledge of them ſo familiar to him, that he ſeemed to have learnt nothing elſe; and the moſt expert divines of his time confeſſed his proficiency in this ſcience to have been ſuperior to any thing they had ever met with.

I have already related what the Lord *Priuli*, who was preſent at his lectures on the Scripture whilſt he was at *Liege*, thought of them; and Cardinal *Seripandi*, writing to St. *Thomas* of *Villa Nova*, Archbiſhop of *Valentia* in *Spain*, ſays, he never heard him diſcourſe on divine matters, but he ſeemed a being of a higher order, who brought from above the eternal truths of the goſpel, rather than a man *.

Vol. I. page 232.

His cuſtom was, firſt, to write down what occurred to him on the ſubject of his reading, and then to compare his own obſervations with thoſe of others on the ſame places. But as to the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*, in which there are many difficult and intricate paſſages, Cardinal *Hierom Seripandi*, a perſon of rare erudition and piety, informs us of the method by which he judged the knowledge of them was to be attained. His words are theſe. "I have been told, ſays he, that when CARDINAL POLE was conſulted by what method the hidden and obſcure paſſages of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles might be unfolded and brought to light, he uſed to make the following anſwer: that the moſt ready and expeditious way he could propoſe, was for the Reader to begin at the latter part of the Epiſtles, where the Apoſtle treats of morality, and to practiſe what was delivered there; and then go back to the beginning, where the

* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 2da, pag. 4. Præf.

doctrinal

doctrinal parts are reaſoned on with great acuteneſs and ſubtlety. This ſpeech, continues *Seripandi*, was truly becoming ſo great a man, whoſe probity, religion, and ſanctity of manners, were no leſs admirable than his erudition. His diſcernment in divine matters gave him to underſtand that pure and upright minds attain with eaſe the knowledge of the moſt ſublime and abſtracted truths; whereas thoſe who neglect the practical and more intelligible parts of holy writ, as profane perſons, were forbid acceſs to the Sanctuary." On other occaſions he was accuſtomed to ſay, that whoever betook themſelves to the ſtudy of the Scriptures were to behave like thoſe who were admitted to the inner part of the Temple through a low and narrow entrance: and that none ſhould aſpire to this ſcience on a preſumption of their parts and learning; but bring to it an humble mind, and an underſtanding, as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, under the ſubjection of faith. He uſed likewiſe to give this caution to all who ſtudied the Scriptures, that the deſire of worldly honour or wealth ſhould have no influence in ſuch an undertaking; ſince nothing could be more foreign to it: that the mind ſhould be prepared by prayer, and, as has been ſaid, free from ambition and every ſinful and irregular attachment. SECT. XII.

He left behind him many excellent works, ſeveral of which I have had occaſion to ſpeak of in the courſe of this Hiſtory, and to give ſuch extracts from each as may enable the Reader to have a ſufficient inſight into the ſubject, and bring him acquainted with the Author's manner of treating it. The chief of them are, *the life of* his friend *Longolius*, four books *on the unity of the Church*, addreſſed to *Henry* VIII; to which he added *a Preface* to *Edward* VI. his ſon *; *an Apology to*

* *Baſiliæ*, anno 1570, præfigitur *Longolii* epiſtolia.

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*Charles* V. in which there is an analyſis of *Machiavel*'s politics *. I have taken notice elſewhere, that he was the firſt who detected the pernicious tendency of this author's writings, almoſt as ſoon as they appeared, and a few years after the author's death. A treatiſe *on the nature of a General Council:* a Dialogue *on the duties of the Papacy*; which he wrote in the Conclave, and afterwards inlarged: *the Canons of the National Synod of the* Church *of England.* A diſſertation *on the Baptiſm of Conſtantine, on the day of our Saviour's birth*; and a dialogue *on his Paſſion.* A diſcourſe *on Peace,* to the Emperor and *French* King. *Several letters to Sadolet.* The *Commentaries* he wrote, in his youth, on all *Cicero*'s works, were never printed and the manuſcript is loſt. His poſthumous works were numerous, but more weighty concerns hindered him from putting the laſt hand to them; and they were conſigned to Cardinal *Moron* his intimate friend: amongſt theſe were *a Commentary on the Prophet Iſaiah and the Pſalms,* and other books of the Scriptures; a large treatiſe *on the manner of Preaching,* and ſeveral others, ſome of which were in *Engliſh.* I have ſeen at *Oxford,* A book of the Statutes of that Univerſity, with the Manuſcript Notes of CARDINAL POLE.

Though his diſpoſitions, as has been ſaid, inclined him rather to privacy and retirement than to the active ſcenes of public life, yet he was very dextrous in the management of buſineſs, and gained eſteem in thoſe very undertakings which were not attended with ſucceſs. This appears in his embaſſies to courts which had the moſt oppoſite views and intereſts; in the government of *Viterbo*; in the council of *Trent*; in the arduous taſk of bringing over his country to its ancient

* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 1ma, pag. 136.

belief;

belief; and in the plan of diſcipline, of which I have given an abſtract, and which can never be too much commended. His prudence and foreſight enabled him to conſider things in an univerſal light, and were exempt from thoſe perturbations which are the greateſt obſtacles to the deſired event of what we undertake. He waited the opportunity of buſineſs, which made him ſometimes ſeem ſlow to thoſe who were unacquainted with the ſuitableneſs of circumſtances; and as ſuch perſons don't take their meaſures from the nature of affairs, but from humour, they cannot fail of taking thoſe that are improper. When any of his friends ſeemed to deſire a quicker diſpatch, his anſwer was, that they muſt let him go on his uſual pace, for if they hurried him, it would fare with them as with thoſe who ſpur a pacing horſe, which only makes his gait more uneaſy. SECT. XII.

The elevation of his mind and his excellent virtues placed him above thoſe paſſions to which vulgar ſouls are inſlaved, luſt, anger, envy, and avarice, and fixed him on purſuits of a nobler ſort. His whole behaviour from early youth was ſo perfectly clear of any ſuſpicion of incontinence, that he was eſteemed by all who knew him to have lived exempt from any weakneſs of this kind *. When his domeſtics had done any thing which deſerved reprehenſion, he always took care to give it without any indication of choler; and timed it ſo as it might be well received by the delinquent and produce an amendment. His temper was ſo remarkably even and free from reſentment, that ſeveral who were but little acquainted with him, and guided themſelves by very different maxims, thought that on ſome occaſions he want-

* Expers omnis libidinis totâ vitâ tum in Angliâ tum extra Angliam habitus eſt. Vita *Poli*, fol. 39, à tergo.

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ed dignity and let himſelf down too much. Tho' *Gardiner* had endeavoured firſt to obſtruct his return to his country, and then to obſcure his reputation and leſſen his authority with *Philip* and the *Engliſh* miniſtry; yet, on his return, when the Queen's confidence in him was ſuch, as the Lord of *Noailles* writes to his court, "that it was plain ſhe neither would nor could live without having him about her perſon;" on all occaſions he ſhewed a ſingular eſteem for that great miniſter; and, after his death, always mentioned him with honour.

He was too well verſed in the moral of the goſpel not to have learnt from the divine Author of it the difficult leſſon of forgiving injuries: a proof of this are the ſeveral inſtances I have given of his diſpoſitions toward *Henry* VIII. Three *Engliſhmen* came to *Capranica* with a deſign to murder him; and when they were taken up on ſuſpicion, confeſſed their crime, and that the King had ſent them on that ſhameful and wicked errand. Being convicted, he would have them only condemned to the galleys for a few days, alledging the offence regarded himſelf alone. He uſed the like clemency to ſome *Italians* who had contrived his death at *Viterbo*, and cauſed them to be ſet at liberty. I am informed, ſays the writer of his life, from one who was preſent, that having received advice of the injurious proſecution which *Paul* IV. carried on againſt him, he was ſenſibly touched at it, and juſtified himſelf by a ſhort treatiſe addreſſed to the Pope. The ſubject led him to ſome things not very honourable to the Pontiff, and having finiſhed the piece and cauſed a fair copy of it to be drawn off, he peruſed it by the fireſide, and threw both the tranſcript and the original into the flames, repeating this injunction of the

the old law, *Thou ſhalt not diſcover thy father's ignominy.* SECT. XII.

He had from temper and conſtitution, great generoſity and a propenſion to acts of benevolence, and his charity was univerſal. He not only took care that no aſſiſtance was wanting to the meaneſt of his domeſtics, in time of ſickneſs, but frequently viſited them himſelf, and furniſhed poor ſtudents and perſons of probity, who were reduced, with the means of ſubſiſtence. I remember, ſays the above-mentioned writer, that having received at *Trent*, when he was Legate, four thouſand ducats of arrears due to him on a penſion from the Biſhopric of *Granada*, he ſaid, he had no occaſion for ſuch an extraordinary ſupply, having hitherto lived clear of debt without it, and immediately divided it amongſt his family, giving to each according to his rank and deſerts. *Victoria Colonna*, Marchioneſs of *Peſcara*, left him, by her will, 10,000 crowns: but he refuſed to accept of any part of ſo conſiderable a legacy, and ordered the whole to be paid to that lady's neice, when ſhe married Don *Garcia* of *Toledo*, ſon to the Viceroy of *Naples*. Being returned to his country, he beſtowed with the ſame munificence, almoſt three thouſand pounds on thoſe of his houſhold who had followed him from *Italy*; and to ſuch as were deſirous to go back again, he ordered, moreover, horſes and wherewith to defray the expence of the journey. On occaſions which called for magnificence, he ſhewed his diſpoſition to be as noble as his birth; yet, as I have ſaid, he regulated his expence by the means he had to ſupport it; when theſe increaſed, his bounty, like the ſun, ſpread its ray, and ſhone away the ſuperfluity. I have already ſpoke of the income he received from *England*, whilſt the King continued the allowance he at firſt aſſigned him. As ſoon

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as he was honoured with the purple, that penſion ceaſed, and whatever belonged to him was confiſcated. *Paul* III. allotted him two hundred crowns a month, on which he ſubſiſted ſome time at *Rome*; and *Giberti*, Biſhop of *Verona*, who, as we have ſeen, had a ſingular eſteem for his merit, and knew how much his fortune fell ſhort of his rank and occaſions, bequeathed to him a yearly penſion of 2000 ducats on the Archbiſhopric of *Granada*, which he was impowered to transfer, and another benefice in the church of *Valentia* of the yearly value of 800 more. At the death of the Cardinal of *Ravenna*, which happened in 1549, the Pope conferred on him a poſt in the dioceſe of *Adria*, the annual profits of which amounted to 1000 crowns.

This was his revenue till he was recalled to *England*. *Paul* III. who bore him a ſingular affection, would have conferred on him the Biſhopric of *Spoleto*, which being in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, is eſteemed a very deſirable preferment; but as he thought the character of Cardinal would oblige him to be much at *Rome*, which was incompatible with epiſcopal reſidence, he refuſed to accept of it with ſo much modeſty and diſintereſtedneſs as neither to diſpleaſe the Pope, nor offend thoſe whoſe conduct ſuch maxims might ſeem to cenſure.

On his return to his country, being named by the Queen to the Archbiſhopric of *Canterbury*, he could not be prevailed on to accept of that high dignity, till the Pope had aſſured him, he ſhould not be recalled from *England*, and he ſent *Goldwell*, Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, to *Rome*, that this affair being ſettled his conſcience might be at eaſe. Beſides the revenues of this See, the Queen allotted him a penſion of 1500 pounds on the Biſhopric of *Wincheſter*. She did this of her own motion; for

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for in the high favour he enjoyed with her Majeſty, he aſked nothing for himſelf, nor entered any claim for what he had a right to, nor ſo much as mentioned it. The Earldom of *Warwick* was devolved to him by inheritance; yet all the inſtances of his family to make out his title, could never prevail on him to do ſo. He was inveſted with the moſt ample legantine powers, which, had he made the ſame uſe of as others had done, would have been very lucrative. But he was ſo far from inriching himſelf by this office, that the manner in which he exerciſed it put him to a conſiderable expence. Every department of it was ſerved without fees; and where the laws preſcribed a fine, it was employed for the relief of the needy, or put to ſuch uſes as piety countenanced.

His cathedral likewiſe experienced the effects of his liberality: he obtained of the Queen the patronage of nineteen pariſhes for the Archbiſhopric of *Canterbury*; and endowed it with ſome houſes built by him, and a ground-rent on the eaſt ſide of *Lambeth*. He gave the metropolitan church a pair of large gilt candleſticks, a cenſer in the ſhape of a ſhip, a mitre adorned with jewels, a ſilver croſier or paſtoral ſtaff, a croſs, two pontifical rings of great value, a large ſilver ciſtern for holy water; and he makes mention in his will of above 1000 pounds laid out in repairs of houſes belonging to his See. He founded, by his will, a mortuary ſervice, for the repoſe of his ſoul and thoſe of his parents and family, to be performed by two prieſts, whom the chapter was to appoint: but this diſpoſition was ſet aſide on the change of religion, which immediately followed his death. He deſigned, if he had lived, to have built a ſtately palace at *Canterbury*.

He was ſo little touched with that infirmity of noble minds, the love of fame, that, though no

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one of that golden age, in which learning was revived, had a greater diſpoſition for eloquence, or fairer opportunities to improve it than himſelf, he laid aſide all ſuch views as ſoon as the exigencies of his country called for other ſuccours. He refuſed, when very young, the Archbiſhopric of *York*, offered to him by *Henry* VIII. on terms inconſiſtent with his duty; and afterwards the Papacy, which the ſacred College would have conferred on him. On his return from baniſhment, he declined, as much as in him lay, the See of *Canterbury* and the other honours by which his Sovereign and the two univerſities teſtified their ſenſe of his merit.

This ſpirit, which was ſuperior to ambition, was enobled by a fortitude and greatneſs of ſoul, of which all praiſe would be ſhort in compariſon of a plain narrative of the inſtances, in which it was exerted. Nor was this a philoſophical firmneſs of mind, but grounded in an aſſured and ſteady confidence in God, whom he looked on as the beſt and wiſeſt Diſpoſer of all events, and therefore to be equally adored and bleſſed in whatever happens to us, that only excepted, of which he cannot be the author, moral evil. This principle, ſo becoming a Chriſtian, ſupported him under the ſlanders which were raiſed againſt his reputation: in baniſhment, perſecution, and the confiſcation of his fortunes; in the violent death of his mother and eldeſt brother; in the various trials to which rage, envy, and miſtaken zeal expoſed him: it cauſed him to pardon the repeated attempts made on his life, and to wiſh all good to the Prince, who was the author of them. The ſame magnanimity ſhewed itſelf to no leſs advantage in the Chriſtian moderation with which he bore his elevation, and when all eyes were open to admire, and all tongues to praiſe him.

His

His gratitude, and ſenſe of good offices done him by others, appear in the return he would have made to the obligations he had to *Priuli*, the deareſt of his friends: in the application with which he promoted, at *Rome*, the intereſts of the Biſhop and Prince of *Liege*, who had behaved to him with the greateſt munificence and cordiality; and on all occaſions in which thoſe virtues could be exerciſed. The duty and love he bore the Counteſs of *Saliſbury* his mother, and his affection for his brothers and family, though of a ſuperior order to what is generally underſtood by ſocial virtues, are to be ranked with them, and the love of his country crowned them all. SECT. XII.

If we conſider what he did and ſuffered on this principle, we ſhall confeſs no one had ever a better claim to the title of a *Patriot* than CARDINAL POLE. He oppoſed, at a very early period of life, the attempts of a wilful tyrant, who governed by no other rule than the capriciouſneſs of his paſſions; and made or antiquated laws, and diſpoſed of the lives and property of his people, juſt as the preſent caprice was to be gratified. He never ceaſed thinking and writing on what he judged would be to the advantage of his country; and choſe baniſhment and dependence, rather than conſent to meaſures which were deſtructive of its religion and laws.

When he was reſtored to it, he acted with no other view than its tranquillity and happineſs. He prevailed on the Clergy to give up all their claim to the church lands; and on the Pope to confirm, in the moſt ample and irrevocable form, this ceſſion to the lay owners. The Abbé of *San Salute*, who was one of his chief confidents, did an infinite number of good offices, as the Lord *Noailles* the *French* Ambaſſador informs us, in oppoſition to *Spaniſh* meaſures; and the CARDINAL, ſays the

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the ſame author, was an enemy to all violence, and particularly to any ſcheme of ſubduing the nation by force.

Amongſt the many congratulations which came to him from all parts, on his being honoured with the purple, one was from the Doge and Senate of *Venice*; to whom, in his anſwer, he aſſigns this reaſon for being little affected with the honour conferred on him, *quia vox patriæ aberat:* for tho' his reputation began to expand itſelf on all parts, he refuſed to enjoy the gale of which his country did not partake.

See Vol. I. page 185.

He had no ſooner heard that *Henry* had reſolved the death of Biſhop *Fiſher* and Sir *Thomas More*, but, foreſeeing the ſcene of bloodſhed, of which this was to be the prelude, he immediately ſent a courier from *Padua* to *Charles* V. to inform the Emperor of the calamities with which the whole nation, and particularly that Prince's aunt, Queen *Catharine*, were threatened, if that act of blood was not prevented. In fine, on *Mary*'s acceſſion, he overlooked all the ſweets of a ſtudious and contemplative life, which he had choſen at *Magura*, and embarked, as he ſays, with a full knowledge of the difficulties he was to encounter, on the ſtormy and turbulent ocean of a new and divided adminiſtration.

He had ever ſhown remarkable mildneſs to thoſe who diſſented from the doctrine of the church of *Rome*, as we have ſeen in his government of *Viterbo*, and particularly in the caſe of *Flaminius*. He purſued the ſame method in *England*, ſo as to extort this conceſſion from Dr. *Burnet*, "that ſuch qualities, and ſuch a temper, could he have brought others into the ſame meaſures, would probably have gone far towards bringing back this nation to the church of *Rome*; as he was a man of as great probity and virtue as any of the

Vol. I. page 344.

Hiſt. Ref. Vol. 2d.

age

age he lived in." He gained Sir *John Cheek*, as I have already related, by this Chriſtian and perſuaſive manner of proceeding; and, next to his own family, was obſerved to converſe chiefly with Secretary *Cecil*. He extended the ſame lenient arts even to *Cranmer*, in order to bring him over to a better way of thinking. SECT. XII.

Though he was at the head of the council, he uſed no violence nor intrigues to bring others into his meaſures, which were always moderate, and therefore frequently widely different from the generality of thoſe who compoſed it. Having modeſtly declared his own ſentiments, he referred every thing to the majority; and had learnt from a Pagan, of whoſe writings he was a profeſſed admirer, to diſtinguiſh between bearing what we cannot help, and approving what we ought to condemn *. In religious matters, which were more peculiarly his department, he obſerved the ſame conduct, and ſuffered rigours to be exerciſed, which were no leſs contrary to his judgment than inclination. Thus, what has been blamed in his behaviour as too paſſive, was the reſult of his deference to the laws and conſtitutions of his country, which did not allow him to ſtrain the tender ſtrings of government, nor exert an undue authority on any pretext whatever. When he was at full liberty to act on his own principles, as in the government of *Viterbo*, and the dioceſe of *Canterbury*, his behaviour was ſuch as to give his enemies a pretext to miſrepreſent his lenity towards thoſe who erred, as an indication of his favouring error. His behaviour when he preſided at the Council of *Trent*, is a further proof of the good-will he bore to thoſe who had left the church;

* Non enim eſt idem ferre, ſi quid ferendum eſt; et probare, ſi quid probandum non eſt. *Cic.* Ep. Fam. 9. 6.

and

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and that he looked on all deviations from truth as a misfortune which called for our compaſſion to thoſe who were fallen into them.

It has been hinted before, that his inclination led him to retirement, which cauſed him, in his youth, to ſhun courts and much company; and, when he was advanced to the purple, to withdraw, as often as he could, to religious houſes, and other ſolitary places, and follow nature, when he could do it without a neglect of duty. His retirements were the moſt uſeful inſtruction of the uſe ſuch leiſure ſhould be put to, as they did not ſhut out the real advantages of ſociety, and become an abode of every meanneſs and abjection of the mind, and thus end in an excluſion of improvement, politeneſs, and freedom of thought. His retreat was of a very different kind, and withdrew him from the vices and follies of the world, and whatever was foreign to his profeſſion, or might be a hindrance to ſtudy, piety, or the diſcharge of his duty. It conſiſted in the opportunities of laying a ſettled ground-work of that elevation of mind, which always repreſented to him the ſervice of his Maker, and the good of mankind as the end of his actions; and enabled him to look down on the advantages of his birth, the honours he was raiſed to, and the reputation he had gained, with the ſame ſuperiority and diſengagement, as a great Princeſs did on the badges of royalty, in that memorable prayer ſhe made to her Maker. Such a retreat admitted every intellectual and moral improvement, a correſpondence with the wiſeſt and beſt men of thoſe times, and made his life like a gentle ſtream, which does not only glide through lonely vales, but viſits, in its courſe, populous cities, and is, at once, their wealth and ornament.

*Eſther* xiv. 16.

He

He was much addicted to communication with God by prayer, and contemplation of divine matters, as the proper object of the mind of man, and of which, when the organ is not vitiated, a due perception follows of course. Before he entered holy orders, he received the bleſſed euchariſt on all Sundays; and the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, who was many years his chaplain, uſed to relate of him, that at *Capranica*, and elſewhere, he aſſiſted the prieſt at the altar, and even put on and took off his veſtments, and rendered him, both before and after the ſacrifice, all the offices of a menial clerk. When he had received the prieſthood, he never omitted to celebrate the holy myſteries at leaſt once a week. His accuracy in all the ceremonies and rites of the Liturgy, was as obſervable as the recollected air with which he performed them: the very tone of his voice, his countenance, every geſture, ſpoke the awe with which he was penetrated, and the attention with which he offered to almighty God the great ſacrifice of atonement, and praiſe, of impetration and thankſgiving. SECT. XII.

There was no incident which did not ſuggeſt to his mind ſentiments of the moſt tender and enlightened piety, and furniſh him with an opportunity of ſtirring them up in others. *Philip* had ſent the Queen a crucifix from *Spain* *: and the Pope had preſented the King with a rich cap of maintenance and a belt, and the Queen with a golden roſe of exquiſite workmanſhip, which curioſities were to be delivered by the CARDINAL, and his ingenious piety ſupplied him with various moral and religious reflexions on theſe ſubjects, which are come down to us in two very edifying letters †. A young monk, his friend *Contareni*'s

* *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 3ᵗᵃ, pag. 38. † Ibid. pag. 36.

nephew,

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nephew, complained to him, that he found much diſſipation in the office his ſuperior had placed him in; and the CARDINAL's advice to him is written with a knowledge of the duties of a monaſtic profeſſion, no leſs than if he had ſpent his life in the ſtudy and practice of them *.

Though he found great inconvenience from faſting and fiſh diet, he could never be prevailed on to interrupt the faſt of Lent, till ſickneſs, into which he fell almoſt every year, obliged him to it; and he choſe rather to enjoy a leſs good ſtate of health, than that his example ſhould give offence.

Theſe qualifications fitted REGINALD POLE for epiſcopacy, and the higheſt order of it, the primateſhip of a large and populous kingdom. I have already given the Reader ſeveral inſtances of the manner in which he acquitted himſelf of the duties of this ſtation; and I ſhall here give him the ſentiments he entertained of it, and the principles on which he filled up the meaſure of its obligations. Theſe may be gathered from the following abſtract of two of his letters.

"I was yeſterday informed, ſays he, writing to *Miranda*, a *Spaniſh* prelate, and his particular friend, that the King had conferred on you the Archbiſhopric of *Toledo*; and I thought it an event on which I ought not to be ſilent, as it is cuſtomary to congratulate our friends, when they obtain a poſt, either of honour or profit. But though you are now named to a dignity not inferior to any of the church, the papacy only excepted, yet the time of congratulation is not yet come. I may indeed felicitate his Majeſty on the choice he has made, as having been ſolely guided by the learning and manners of a perſon, who is

* *Reg. Poli*, pars 4ta, pag. 21.

equal

equal to the charge. But, as for yourſelf, my dear *Miranda*, on what title can I wiſh you joy, till I hear how you behave in this exalted ſtation? If neither ambition or ſolicitation had any part in this promotion; if you are not elated by the honours and wealth it brings with it; if your aſſent to the choice made of your perſon was a deference you owed to him by whom you was nominated, and proceeded from a deſire of diſcharging the duties of your miniſtry (and the opinion I have of your virtue perſuades me that this is really the caſe) you have given great ſubject of joy to your true friends, and particularly to the large province committed to your care; but you yourſelf ſtand in need of comfort, inſtead of expecting compliments *." SECT. XII. 26th Sept. 1557.

In the other letter, where the ſame great prelate had informed the CARDINAL that he was blamed for living at court, and not reſiding in his dioceſe, he anſwers the objections made to his conduct, and enters on a very particular diſcuſſion of the point in debate. "If, ſays he, I was abſent from my dioceſe, and detained here by any thing but neceſſity, and ſuch a neceſſity as regards the eccleſiaſtical more than the civil ſtate of this kingdom, I ſhould deem myſelf utterly inexcuſable. But whether this be really the caſe, or whether I deceive myſelf, and impoſe on others, I can judge by no other criterion, than that I am not conſcious of having in view either honours or riches, or any private emolument for myſelf, or any who belong to me; which, if I did, I ſhould be the firſt to condemn myſelf. Theſe are my real diſpoſitions, and are viſible to all who are acquainted with me, and on this account I am more at eaſe: yet I don't preſume to juſtify myſelf, but

* *Reg. Poli*, pars 5ta, pag. 36.

conſtantly

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conſtantly pray to the ſearcher of hearts, that if I ſwerve from what is right, he would lead me back into his paths, which are the rule of righteouſneſs. However, I am ſo far from appealing to this ſupreme judgment-ſeat, as if I was not accountable to the tribunal of the public, that I am deſirous to hear even the unfavourable opinion which any particular perſon may entertain of me, thoſe eſpecially of whoſe friendſhip I am perſuaded.

"All I would inſinuate is, that he who would decide whether my preſence be more uſeful here, or elſewhere, ought to be thoroughly acquainted with the civil and eccleſiaſtical ſtate of this kingdom, and with the revolutions of the late years, during which the ancient form of religion, which now begins again to take place, was entirely changed. He muſt likewiſe be informed of the diſpoſitions of all orders of the realm, and of many things which perſonally regard the Queen.

"I don't preſume to infer from hence that my preſence is more neceſſary here than it would be elſewhere; but perſons who underſtand the condition of the church and ſtate, on my earneſt petition to the Queen, that I might give myſelf wholly to my paſtoral charge, repreſented to me in the ſtrongeſt terms, how ill-timed ſuch a ſtep would be, and that every motive, both of religion and love of my country, obliged me to continue with her Majeſty. Should they be miſtaken, this I am ſure of, that my inclination draws me to my church, where I ſhould find all the great comforts of life much more at hand than where I am, and where nothing detains me but the intreaties and advice of perſons of probity, and her deſire, to whom this national church is ſo much indebted, and who is too conſcientious to inſiſt on ſuch a meaſure, unleſs ſhe judged the welfare

welfare of her people intereſted in it. I will only exemplify this in a ſingle inſtance: It has pleaſed their Majeſties to give back the church lands, which were inveſted in the crown, and to make uſe of me in the diſtribution of them: now, to do this ſo, that the parochial clergy may have a decent maintenance, on which church-diſcipline ſo much depends, is ſo perplexed an affair, and attended with ſo many difficulties, that I could never extricate myſelf without their aſſiſtance who cannot be abſent from the court." SECT. XII.

*Miranda* had likewiſe teſtified ſome ſurpriſe at the CARDINAL's not viſiting ſeveral pariſhes in *London* which belonged to him: to which he anſwers, "that although inſtruction from the pulpit was generally underſtood by theſe viſitations, yet the daily experience he had of the infected and infirm ſtate of the kingdom, had informed him, that the neglect and abuſe of the word of God was proportioned to the opportunities men had of hearing it: and this was no where more viſible than in *London*; that unleſs the diſcipline of the church was previouſly ſettled, ſermons were rather hurtful than beneficial, becauſe carnal men came to them as an amuſement, and verified what was ſaid to the Prophet, *they ſit before thee, as if they were my people, and hear thy words, but will not do them; for with their mouth they ſhew much love, but their heart goes after covetouſneſs: and lo thou art to them as a delightful ſong of one that has a pleaſing voice, and can play well on an inſtrument; for they hear thy words, but do them not.* *Ezek.* xxxiii. 31. This, continues he, is here the caſe; for when the ſermon is over, the audience, were they not conſtrained by the laws, would not aſſiſt at the holy ſacrifice, nor at the church offices, and would wholly neglect eccleſiaſtical diſcipline; wherefore, if more pains were taken in ſettling what concerned

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cerned this, than in preaching, it was no more than the preſent ſtate of the nation ſeemed to require; that he did not deny the expediency of the latter, where there was any proſpect of its being heard with profit; and, therefore, the Biſhop of *London*, *Henry Cole*, who was his, the LEGATE'S Chancellor, and Dean of *London*, and other learned and pious perſons were not wanting to this duty; that a ſermon was preached every *Sunday* at St. *Paul*'s croſs, which was much frequented. That himſelf had frequently preached in his metropolitan and other churches, and twice at *London*, and ſhould continue to do ſo, and to correct and regulate what he ſaw had need of it. He mentions the national ſynod he had lately held; the homilies in the *Engliſh* language, which were ſoon to be publiſhed, and *Miranda*'s catechiſm, which was tranſlating into the ſame tongue; and ſays, that though oppreſt with buſineſs, he had never failed to publiſh, from time to time, ſuch treatiſes as he judged ſalutary to his people; and never had, nor would be wanting to that duty of a paſtor, which conſiſts in inſtruction †."

*Richmond*, 22d *June*, 1558.

Theſe virtues of CARDINAL POLE were ſo known and celebrated through *Europe*, that thoſe who had never ſeen, yet loved and honoured him. He was highly eſteemed by *Charles* V. who was acquainted with him, and uſed to ſay, he did not know a better man than the *Engliſh* CARDINAL; though reaſons of ſtate, as they are termed, ſometimes hindered that Prince from ſhewing him that regard which an honeſter man would have done. *Henry* II. King of *France*, having ſeen and converſed with him, regretted he was late acquainted with his merit, and ſaid, if he had

† *R. Poli* Epiſt. pars 5ta, pag. 69.

known

known it ſooner, no other perſon ſhould have had his intereſt for the papacy at the death of *Paul* III. The ſame King deſired to advance him to that dignity, when it was vacated by the death of *Julius* III. and *Marcellus*. He was held in equal eſteem by *Paul* III. of the *Farneſian* family, and by *Henry* VIII. of *England*, as long as his regard was any commendation; by *Victoria Colonna*, Marchioneſs of *Peſcara*, a character above all *Greek* and *Roman* fame; by the ſacred college, who would have raiſed him to the popedom; by *Philip* and *Mary*, the latter of whom had a confidence in him without reſerve; by both the univerſities, and the whole *Engliſh* nation. The ſame account was made of him by the great men of the age he lived in; by *Eraſmus*, Sir *Thomas More*, and Biſhop *Fiſher*, and the reſtorers of learning of the univerſity of *Padua*; by the Cardinals *Sadolet*, *Contareni*, and *Bembo*, who were ſome of the moſt polite writers of thoſe times. The uſual appellation by which he was diſtinguiſhed, was that of *the modeſt and learned Cardinal*. *Madrutius*, Cardinal of *Trent*, a perſon of great endowments and experience, was accuſtomed to ſay, he valued himſelf chiefly on two accounts; for having been employed by *Charles* V. and having loved and honoured the CARDINAL of *England*: and Cardinal *Seripandi*, in the letter I have mentioned to St. *Thomas* of *Villa-nova*, ſays, he was a perſon of ſuch ſingular virtue, piety and learning, and ſo much eſteemed by good men, that thoſe who refuſed him their approbation were not to be ranked in that number; that himſelf never expected any greater felicity than to have been admitted into his friendſhip and familiarity; and ſhould never end was he to relate what he knew of his integrity, the ſanctity of his life, and

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See Part I. page 349.

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patience in adverſity, a virtue which is the proper badge of Chriſtianity *.

His name, ſay the authors of his life, was, at the time they wrote, ſtill freſh in the minds of all good men, and cheriſhed by them, and was long the common topic of converſation. His memory was ſo acceptable to Princes and men in power, that whoever had been any time in his family was ſure to meet with their favour and protection.

* *Reg. Poli* pars 2da, pag. 4. Præf.

APPENDIX.

# APPENDIX.

*The following Pieces are referred to in the Work, under their reſpective Numbers.*

## NUMBER I.

MARTIN LUTHER wrote, in the *German* language, a book *on private maſſes, and the anointing of prieſts*, and prevailed on his friend, *Juſtus Jonas*, to tranſlate it into *Latin*. It contains, among other things, an account of what paſſed between himſelf and the ſpirit of darkneſs, on the articles which make the ſubject of the work, and the arguments are ſet down by which the devil prevailed on him to renounce the Catholic doctrine on theſe heads. *Luther* repreſents his antagoniſt not only as a plauſible ſophiſter, but as an able diſputant; juſtifies the ſtrength of his reaſoning, and partakes of the imaginary triumph over the faith of the church, which he aſcribes to him; and then concludes, that Chriſtians were at length freed from theſe tenets and practices. He ſeems really poſſeſſed by that ſpirit, to whom he yields the victory, and through the whole narration, which cannot be read without horror, explodes the tenets which the devil had diſapproved, by the moſt ſcurrilous invectives, and every kind of inſult and mockery. *Op.* Mart. Luth. *t.* 7. *fol.* 228, *& ſeq. Edit.* Wirtembergæ, *anni* 1557. NUM. I.

# NUMBER II.

## REGINALDUS POLUS JACOPO SADOLETO, *Epiſc. Carpentoracti*, S. P. D.

NUMB. II.

GRATIAS tibi agam prius, (ita enim rerum ordo, et mei officii ratio poſtulant) deinde ad mandata tua convertar. Neque verò illa ſolùm me ad agendum gratias impellunt, quæ tu in me præſentem officia contuliſti: cùm me domo atque hoſpitio honorificè ſanè lautèque acciperes, cùm animum meum, tui congreſſus cupidiſſimum, erudito illo et pleno gravitatis ſermone retineres, et planè paſceres: atque maximis de rebus quærentem et hæſitantem, omni prorſus ſcrupulo et dubitatione liberares. Quæ quidem quoties in mentem revoco (revoco autem ſæpiſſimè) quod de *Platonis* cœna dixit *Timotheus*, cùm ab eo invitatus eſſet, et eundem poſtero die vidiſſet, cœnas *Platonis* non modò in præſentia, ſed in poſterum quoque diem eſſe jucundas: idem ego multò prolixiùs de tuo hoſpitio dicere poſſum; non modò in præſentia fuiſſe jucundum, ſed in aliquot menſes jam fuiſſe, atqui idem, ut ſpero, in multos annos futurum.

At verò cùm à tua conſuetudine, cujus ego ſuavitatem tum primùm quaſi guſtare cœperam, tam citò dirimi, ac tanto locorum intervallo diſjungi, animo ſanè moleſtè ferrem, cùm nec mihi tum integrum eſſet aliter facere, rationibus meis ſic ferentibus, et in hæc loca penè trahentibus: ne huic quidem dolori meo defuiſti. Inita enim

à

à te ratio eſt, quemadmodum eo quo tantopere delectabar, non uſquequaque privarer, ſed ut te etiam abſens aliqua ex parte fruerer, adjuncto mihi ejuſmodi itineris comite, qui te mihi quotidie redderet, qui jucundiſſimos tuos, et graviſſimos ſermones ſine intermiſſione referebat, nec ſanè intermori eam, quam ex conſuetudine tua voluptatem cepi, ullo pacto ſinebat. Quis enim te ipſum meliùs exprimere potuit, quàm tu, quàm ſcripta tua, quàm liber ille tuus quem per me *Bembo* reddi voluiſti? In quo prudentia tua, gravitas, doctrina, quibus maximè delectabar, elucent. Hunc certè mihi comitis loco accepi: qui non modò mihi in brevi illa et paucorum dierum via, quæ in *Italiam* properanti inſtabat, pro vehiculo fuit, quod de facundo comite dici ſolet: ſed in longo totius vitæ curſu, in quo maximè, et periculoſiſſime laboratur, et vehiculi, et ducis locum facilè obtineret. Ex quo quidem hanc primo aſpectu voluptatem cepi, quòd mihi cogitationem omnem de eo, in quod ingreſſus eram, itinere, impedito ſanè et moleſto, abſtulit, meque totum in contemplationem præclari illius itineris abduxit, quod te duce et monſtratore, adoleſcenti ad laudem et decus tendenti, certum et glorioſum proponebatur. In quo quidem valde delectabar, cùm quaſi oculis, ſic animo cernerem, te graviſſimum et prudentiſſimum ſenem, ut peritum gubernatorem, gnarum et locorum et maris, ſiderumque et tempeſtatum omnium, ſic animo providum, ſic omnia pericula longè lateque proſpicientem, ut nihil non prædiceres et præcaveres, quod vel impedire tam præclarum curſum, vel in periculum ducere poſſet. Qui non cuivis adoleſcenti, in vulgi moribus educato, vulgaribus parentibus orto, et qui filiorum educationem in poſtremis haberent, te ducem profitearis: ſed illi qui ab optimis parentibus penè antequam in lucem puer ederetur, huic tam

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præclaræ expeditioni fuerit deſtinatus: cujus educationi natura non obſiſtere, ſed ſuas dotes benignè largiendo, ſe fautricem ſponderet. Qui ab incunabulis ſic eductus, ſic literis et moribus formatus fuerit, quemadmodum eſt à te ſanctiſſimè et prudentiſſimè præſcriptum.

Hunc verò talem cùm tibi ipſe oratione formâſſes, vel potius natura ſic formatum, et parentum votis huic rei deſtinatum, cùm *Paulum* tuum accepiſſes, quid non voluptatis mihi præbuit præclarus ille, quem recenſes, in eo inſtituendo apparatus? Deinde cùm ex puerili inſtitutione, tanquam ex anguſtiis, eum abduxiſſes, et in latum illud, quod adoleſcentis inſtitutioni quaſi pelagus patebat, adduxiſſes, tum ſanè maximè delectabar, cùm te ſecundiſſimo illo orationis curſu, plenis eloquentiæ velis, ita omnes artes doctrinaſque percurrentem viderem, ut cùm nihil tibi tum aliud propoſitum eſſet, niſi ut earum artium ſedes et loca, ubi ad tempus inſiſtendum, atque ad majora et ulteriora tendenti commorandum eſſet, monſtrares: ea tamen ſic oratione illuſtras, ſic artium ſingularum vires et virtutes explicas, ut propè monſtrando in earum jam poſſeſſionem mittere adoleſcentem videaris, atque eas recenſendo tradere. Hæc certè magna cum voluptate contemplabar. Sed quò magis me delectabant, eo ſanè avidius expectabam, quò tandem præclarum iſtum curſum, quem tanto apparatu inſtituiſti, dirigeres: quem tibi portum proponeres. In qua expectatione ſtatim ſe mihi in conſpectum obtulit philoſophiæ portus, quò te velis remiſque properare, atque illic paulò pòſt alumnum tuum relinquere videbam. Præclarus ille quidem, et omnibus aliis portus præferendus, ſi antiquis illis *Ariſtotelis* et *Platonis* temporibus, vel etiam ſi recentioribus *M. T. Ciceronis*, hic curſus abs te inſtitutus fuiſſet, aut ſi ii gubernatores adoleſcenti tuo

tuo contigiſſent: nec enim illi profectò alium elegiſſent, nec facile tum alius tutior vel commodior reperiri potuit. Sed cùm his felicibus temporibus curſum inſtitueris tuum, quibus ut multi terrarum novi tractus inſulæque et portus antiquitati incogniti, inventi ſunt, pluribus eorum qui antiquitus celebres erant, vel mari obrutis, vel vetuſtate conſumptis: ſic etiam animorum portus multo tutior et tranquillior, Deo ipſo, et eodem Dei filio duce et inventore nobis apertus ſit, quem antiqui ignorabant. Cumque *Sadoletus* ipſe, qui in hoc curſu gubernatoris locum obtinet, etſi appulſus quidem ad antiquorum portum, tamen prætervectus ſit, nec diutius ibi commoratus, quàm ut neceſſaria ſibi inde ſumeret ad reliquum curſum perficiendum, in hunc tandem, qui à Dei filio monſtratus ſit ſe receperit, ubi nunc ſumma cum animi tranquillitate et ſecuritate vivit: quid eſt cur non *Paulus* tuus merito tecum conquereratur, ſi in alieno et infido jam portu eum relinquas, cùm te ipſum in optimo et tutiſſimo collocaris? Ego certè illius verbis tecum expoſtulare non dubitabo, ſi juvenem omnibus vel naturæ dotibus vel doctrinæ præſidiis tua opera inſtructiſſimum, et plane talem qualem tu parentum votis expetendum proponis, fluctuantem jam in philoſophiæ portu reliqueris: quæ ne portus quidem jam nomine digna ſit: ſed ut de Tenedo dixit poëta,

Nunc tantùm ſinus, et ſtatio malefida carinis.

Atqui non nobis tantus iſte in eo educando apparatus, nec præclara iſta tua inſtitutio, talem nobis promiſit qui præcepta tandem vivendi à philoſophis peteret, aut qui animi ſecuritatis cauſa in illorum portum confugere neceſſe haberet: ſed qui vel principibus ipſis philoſophorum, ſi jam reviviſcerent, novum et præſtantius vivendi genus oſtenderet, quo illi nunquam aſpirare potuerunt; ſapientiam

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ſapientiam autem et animi tranquillitatem longè aliam, et aliunde quàm à philoſophiæ præceptis petendam, tanto præſtantiorem et diuturniorem ea quam philoſophia promitteret, quantò humanis præſtabiliora divina ſunt.

Quare age, mi *Sadolete*, noli promiſſo tuo, in tali juvene inſtituendo ſatisfactum putare, ſi eum ad philoſophiæ limites perduxeris, aut etiam ſi philoſophiam ipſam integram tradideris. Solvas inde oportet, neque unquam defatigere, donec in ſacrum eundem portum, in quo tu ipſe ſumma cum animi tranquillitate vivis, illum perduxeris. Nec enim convenit tam præſtanti educationi, et illi quem omnium opinione, hæredem virtutis et ſapientiæ tuæ es relicturus, in alio quàm quo ipſe tabernaculum vitæ poſueris portu conquieſcere.

Hæc ad te verboſiùs ſcripſi, vel tuo imperio obſequutus, qui me etiam de illo tuo libro, quem fatis admirari non poteram, quid ſentirem ad te ſcribere voluiſti, vel meo in ſacras illas Muſas amori ſatisfaciens. Quas abs te illaudatas et tacitas præteriri, cùm reliquas omnes artes et diſciplinas dignis præconiis ornâris, vix æquo animo ſpectabam, vel etiam quod Langæo noſtro, cujus liberis inſtituendis iſte abs te labor præcipuè ſumptus ſit, hoc imprimis gratum fore non dubitabam, ſi quod in philoſophia et reliquis artibus facis, ut ſingularum laudes attingendo, ad earum ſtudium adoleſcentum animos erigas, idem in theologia facere non neglexeris: in qua reliquæ omnes, ut in oceano flumina, ſe immergere ſolent, et debent. Et certè convenit, ut quæ te ipſum maximè ornat, et indies magis magiſque ornatura eſt, cum de iis diſciplinis ſermo ſit, quarum cognitio humanos animos colit et perficit: ejus laudem haud quaquam ſilentio involvas: præſertim cùm ad Langæum ſcribas, quem ſcio, quoties è negotiorum fluctibus, quibus in aula verſantem

jactari

jactari neceſſe eſt, emergere licet, in nullo liben- Nov. 1.
tius, quàm in theologiæ portu conquieſcere. Sed H.
tu meæ loquacitati ignoſces, qui cùm ſancte adjurare poſſim, me his quatuor annis non tantum quidem Latinè legiſſe, quantum nunc ad te ſcripſi, theologorum libris avocatum, quos tamen in genere Latinorum ſcriptorum non pono, in hanc inſolitam Latinè ſcribendi loquacitatem erupi. Sed ut loquendi tecum, ſic etiam ſcribendi ad te, quo cum abſente quaſi loqui videor, dulcedo quædam me longius ultra epiſtolæ fines provexit. Cui tu pro tua humanitate ignoſcas oportet.

Nunc ad tua mandata venio. In quo eo brevior ero, quo pauciora mihi ſcribenda reliquerunt eorum literæ, ad quos mihi mandata et literas dediſti: quas jam ſpero ad tuas reſcriptas te habere. Omnes enim receperunt, poſt paucos dies quibus id commodè facere poſſent, ſe tuæ voluntati eſſe ſatisfacturos. *Bembi* verò literas cum his ad te mitto: quem cùm *Venetiis* ſalutarem, eique tuas literas unà cum libro darem, quantopere delectaretur de te, et de tuis ſtudiis audire, pro veſtra conjunctiſſima neceſſitudine, facilius eſt tibi exiſtimare, quam mihi ſcribere. *Veronenſi* verò Pontifici, quem *Veronæ* ſalutavi, etiam tuas literas tradidi: qui me unum diem apud ſe detinuit, cùm nullus penè nobis ſermo eſſet, niſi de te, et de ſtudiis tuis: cùm ſæpe ſe valde dolere oſtenderet, ſuaviſſima conſuetudine tua propter locorum intervallum, quo disjuncti eſtis, ſe privari. *Lazarum* tuum Patavii offendi, cui etiam tuas literas tradidi, cùm ad me ſalutatum humaniſſimè veniſſet. Omnes verò tibi de iſta animi tranquillitate et ocio gratulantur: ex quibus tam præclaros fœtus oriri, et prodire in utilitatem publicam vident. Quæ ut tibi perpetua ſint optant. Egoque imprimis, qui non minus præclaros ſciam te

jam

NUM. II. jam parturire, quàm ſunt hi qui jam ſunt in lucem editi, hoc idem optare non deſinam, partumque feliciſſimum precari. Vale.

*Venetiis*, IIII Calend. *Novembr.* M. D. XXXII.

NUM.

# NUMBER III.

IT is an inquiry of ſome curioſity and more importance, in what ſenſe the Council of *Trent* has defined the *Latin* Vulgate edition of the Scriptures to be authentic; nor can it any ways be ſo juſtly reſolved as by the unanimous declaration of the cotemporary writers, who either had been aſſeſſors at the council, or were converſant with thoſe who had aſſiſted at it, in that quality. They were, moreover, ſome of the greateſt and moſt learned perſonages of that or any other age, and have ſignalized their zeal in maintaining the authority of this venerable aſſembly, and giving its decrees their full latitude and due weight; and though of different nations and ſchools, and divided in opinion on many other heads, are yet agreed on this. I might produce a long catalogue of theſe unexceptionable vouchers, did the nature of this inquiry call for ſo circumſtantial a proof; or did I not think my Readers in general will be more pleaſed to have the ſubſtance of the evidence collected from theſe different witneſſes placed before them, than to hear each of them atteſt the ſame thing, with little more variety than a change of expreſſion. I ſhall, however, for the further ſatisfaction of thoſe, who are deſirous of ſuch a detail, refer them to the original works, from which this brief information has been extracted. NUM. III.

The writers I have mentioned every where teach the meaning of the council in this decree to be, that the edition we ſpeak of is a complete body of the written word of God, as to all that concerns faith and morality; that it contains no error repugnant

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repugnant to either of theſe great articles, and as ſuch is to be received and reverenced by the faithful; and that no other edition was, on any pretext, to be made uſe of either in the ſchools or the public worſhip.

One of the grounds of this deciſion was, that the Catholic Church could not, for ſo many ages, have propoſed to her members either a defective or erroneous guide of belief or practice; and having always conſidered the *Vulgate* as the ſtandard of each, it muſt neceſſarily come up to it: that notwithſtanding the grammatical miſtakes, the tranſpoſitions, and the paſſages leſs properly tranſlated, which occur here and there, all antiquity had ever been perſuaded that the truths of the Chriſtian religion were fully ſet forth in it; that no hereſy was countenanced, nor any thing contained which might give occaſion to a pernicious error: and that it had been held in the higheſt veneration, and been appealed to by the earlieſt ages, as the unerring word of God, in whatever concerned belief and manners.

But then theſe judges, whoſe diſcernment in leaving to opinion tenets which belong to its reſort, is not leſs conſpicuous than their ſteadineſs in aſſerting to divine faith the rights which belong to her department, never once entertained a thought that this edition of the Scriptures was not liable to many objections in other reſpects, in which theſe rights are not intereſted; or that it was exempt from miſtakes, to which a leſs competent ſkill in languages, or want of accuracy and care, may expoſe a tranſlator; ſo far were they from exacting this conceſſion from thoſe who acknowledged their authority. Were other proofs of what I have here aſſerted, wanting, the remark of *Andrew Vega*, one of the ableſt divines, who aſſiſted at the council, would be ſufficient. "The

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ſynod, ſays he, did not approve of the faults, which thoſe who are ſkilled in languages, and moderately knowing in the holy Scriptures, have diſcovered in the *Latin* tranſlation of them. It did no more than approve of the Vulgate edition, cleared of ſuch miſtakes as the careleſſneſs of the tranſcribers or printers had given occaſion to; but would not have it adored, as if it had fallen from heaven. The Fathers very well knew that, whoever was the interpreter, he was not a prophet; and that hitherto we have not been ſo happy as to poſſeſs a tranſlation which has given us the proper and original text of the ſacred writings with the ſame uniformity of ſtile throughout the whole. On this account, they would not reſtrain the induſtry of thoſe who are of opinion that ſome parts might have been more happily tranſlated. Their intention was, that the *Vulgate* ſhould be ſo far eſteemed authentic as all perſons might be ſatisfied it had not been corrupted by any miſtake from which a pernicious tenet could be gathered; and therefore they add, that no one, on any pretext, ſhould reject it. In the ſame place he alledges the teſtimony of the Cardinal of the holy croſs, who then preſided at the council; and at length concludes, addreſſing himſelf to his Reader, in theſe words: "Wherefore, neither you, nor any one elſe, is hindered by this approbation given to the Vulgate edition, to have recourſe to the fountain head, when he meets with any difficulty, and to aſſiſt and inrich the *Latin* expoſitors, and thus enable them to rectify the faulty paſſages of the tranſlation, and attain that meaning of the Scriptures which is moſt agreeable to the Spirit that dictated them, and to the language in which they were penned *."

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* *Andreas Vega*, de Conc. *Trid.* L. 15. c. 9.

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The above-mentioned authority is much corroborated by another cotemporary, of no leſs weight, who enters into ſome particulars, which *Vega* has not touched on, and ingenuouſly owns that the Fathers, who compoſed the council, were not ignorant that ſeveral chapters of the Scripture were tranſlated obſcurely and intricately; that, in ſome places, the ſenſe was deficient; in others, redundant; and ſome again were diſtorted from their genuine and plain meaning: all which had been obſerved by the ancient Doctors and moſt learned and judicious men of each age, who yet had tolerated theſe faults, without any prejudice to faith or morals: becauſe, in order to aſcertain theſe two great ends of revelation, it was enough that the Vulgate did not countenance any error contrary to ſound doctrine, and therefore deſerved the reſpect and authority it had ever met with. On the ſame principle, they believed there was no truth of the Chriſtian diſpenſation, or doctrine neceſſary to human ſalvation contained in the *Greek* and *Hebrew* text, which had eſcaped the knowledge of the *Latin* Church, or been omitted or erroneouſly tranſlated by her. Wherefore, to avoid all that diſturbance, which ſuch changes never fail to produce, they bore with miſtakes which bring no detriment with them, and choſe to conſult the people's tranquillity rather than *to be wiſe out of ſeaſon.*

But then, as we have ſeen, this forbearance was never deſigned by the council as a check on the induſtry of particular perſons, and their throwing any further light on what may be dark or ambiguous, or otherwiſe faulty in the ancient verſion; on the contrary, ſome of the moſt able apologiſts of that venerable aſſembly aſſure us, that the Fathers who compoſed it, "did not forbid the ancient and Vulgate edition to be diligently

gently compared with the original text; and if any difficulty of moment occurred, to tranſlate and explain it with greater fitneſs and propriety, and even with a ſtricter regard to the true meaning. The cotemporary writers I have quoted, every where deliver this as the ſentiment of the council, which one of them has expreſſed in the following manner: "That the decree paſſed in favour of the Vulgate extended no further than to ſupport the authority and uſe of an edition which all antiquity had revered; and to ſuppreſs the arrogance of thoſe, who, at that time eſpecially, from a vain conceit of their own knowledge, and perhaps a moderate inſight into the learned languages; and becauſe they ſaw in that ancient and approved edition ſome paſſages, which might have been tranſlated with more exactneſs; or ſome faults to which the careleſſneſs of the tranſcribers had given occaſion; or, laſtly, that the expoſitors had not every where attained to the laſt preciſion, the meaning of Jeſus Chriſt and the Apoſtles, reject the whole, and would obtrude in its ſtead either their own erroneous tranſlations or thoſe of others. NUMB. III.

Another author, who enters on the ſubject by maintaining the integrity of the *Hebrew* edition, owns, that as to the authority of the *Latin* Vulgate, he is of the ſame way of thinking with the learned *Fleming* I have already cited; and towards the end of the treatiſe ſays, he would not be underſtood to defend the *Latin* interpreter as if he looked on him to be exempt from all blame, and thoſe overſights to which all human productions are liable: nor did he dare to diſſent from thoſe, who, though they admired the good faith of the tranſlator, yet acknowledged that he ſometimes betrayed a want of care and perſpicuity; and by too ſervile an adherence to the *Greek* idiom, and

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little diſcernment in weighing the different energy of that and the *Latin* tongue, became obſcure, and did not ſufficiently expreſs the ſenſe of the original.

The writers I have already quoted have done no more than deliver down to us the meaning of this deciſion on the *authenticity* of the Vulgate, and the conſequences which reſulted from it. But there were others of the ſame time, and of equal authority, who have exemplified this meaning in their own works, ſome of which were inſcribed to the council, and written in circumſtances, in which the authors cannot be ſuppoſed not to have known its meaning, or to have diſguiſed it.

Among theſe, *Forrerius*, in the Preface to his Commentaries on *Iſaiah*, which he wrote at *Trent*, and addreſſed to the Fathers then ſitting, and after the decree I have mentioned had paſſed, as himſelf informs us, declares that he had tranſlated the *Hebrew* text of the prophet as literally as it could be done, for no other reaſon than to make it appear that the *Latin* tranſlator has not given us a different ſenſe from the original; but yet he did not deny that ſome paſſages might have been explained with more propriety.

*Oleaſter* wrote his Commentaries on the Pentateuch in the pontificate of *Paul* IV. as we learn from the preface, and conſequently after this deciſion; and yet he makes no difficulty of declaring, "that it was not his deſign to follow any particular interpreter, as if he was ſatisfied that the ſenſe of the original was every where preſerved; but to explain, to the beſt of his capacity, the *Hebrew* context: that the Vulgate edition, in many places, diſagreed with the original *Hebrew*; and that, in ſuch caſes, the *Latin* was to be corrected by the *Hebrew*, not the *Hebrew* by the *Latin*;

*tin*; and the latter to be accounted faulty, not the former." NUMB. III.

The ſame conceſſion is made by *Genebrardus*, Archbiſhop of *Aix*, one of the moſt learned perſonages of *France*, and whom St. *Francis* of *Salis* values himſelf for having had him for his profeſſor. This prelate, in the preface to his interpretation of the Pſalms, addreſſes himſelf to *Gregory* XIII. in the following manner. "As to the *Seventy*, whoſe tranſlation we follow in the Pſalms, though I might perhaps allow that they, or any other perſons, might have tranſlated ſome paſſages with greater clearneſs and accuracy, and with a ſtricter regard to the true meaning; as nothing is every way perfect, eſpecially when we reflect on our inability to ſound the depths or reach the heights of the divine Oracles: yet if theſe blemiſhes were compared with the great and frequent errors of other interpreters, particularly among the moderns, they are but few, and not of that conſequence as to hinder the tranſlation he was ſpeaking of from having the preference to any other."

I ſhall conclude this ſubject with what is ſaid of it in the new edition of the *Greek* Teſtament, by the univerſity of *Oxford*, in 1675, when great care was taken to collate the common *Greek* text with the moſt ancient manuſcripts in *England*, *Italy*, *France*, and *Spain*; and to put down all the various readings. In the preface to this laborious and uſeful work the editors obſerve, that of all the verſions of the Bible from the original languages, there is none to be compared with the *Vulgate*; which aſſertion they juſtify by confronting paſſages of the moſt eſteemed *Greek* manuſcripts with the ſame paſſages in this tranſlation, when there is any diſagreement between that and the common printed *Greek* copy.

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Thus, as has been ſeen, the authenticity of the Vulgate edition extends no further than to *tenets* in which *faith* and *morals* are concerned, and to the uſe of it in the *liturgy* and the *ſchools*. As to all other points, in which it differs from the *Hebrew* or *Greek*, the Reader is left to his own determination, to prefer which he pleaſes; and is even encouraged, where the Vulgate diſagrees with either of them, to elucidate the tranſlation from the original. This freedom is reſtrained by no exception but what regards belief and manners, in which the *Hebrew*, *Greek* and *Latin* texts perfectly agree.

Beſides the arguments already produced that this was the meaning of the council, the form in which the decree is drawn up ſufficiently indicates it. "This ſets forth the great emolument which would accrue to the church of God, if out of all the *Latin* editions of the holy Scriptures, which were handed about, it was known which was to be received as authentic *." No mention is made of the *Hebrew* or *Greek*; nor is the Vulgate preferred to all the editions, but to the *Latin* only.

If it be replied, that the *Latin* is declared authentic, and the *Greek* and *Hebrew* are not; and, on that account, the preference is given to the former: the anſwer is ready, that the other two being the acknowledged original texts of the divine word, are of themſelves authentic, and ſtood in no need of the council's approbation, which the *Latin*, becauſe it was a tranſlation, did. It was, moreover, expedient to give it this ſanction, as a diſtinctive from innumerable other *Latin* verſions; and whereas the *Hebrew* and *Greek* editions, being but one, had no occaſion for it. Theſe enjoy likewiſe a further privilege, which the former muſt

* See 3d ſeſſ. of the Council.

always

always want, of being the fountain-head, where- NUMB. as this is the ſtream; pure, indeed, and no leſs copious *of thoſe waters which flow to life eternal*, yet ſtill a ſtream. III.

The acts, therefore, of the council inform us, that the *Hebrew* and *Greek* editions of the Scriptures were left in poſſeſſion of all the authority they enjoyed before the council: and this declaration is conformable to what *Vega* writes he heard from Cardinal *Marcellus*, who preſided at it, and was afterwards Pope *. It ſhews, at the ſame time, with how much reaſon the great *Bellarmine* found fault with thoſe, who contended that the Vulgate ſhould every where have the preference, and be acknowledged authentic, even when it differed from the original, and when no article of belief or morals was concerned. This indeed may be *zeal, but not according to knowledge*, and is of that kind which never thinks truth ſafe, unleſs ſhe is in the confines of error †.

* Lib. 15. de Conc. *Trid.* c. 9.

† The authenticity of the Vulgate, in the ſenſe here underſtood, is delivered as the ſentiment of the council of *Trent*, by *Joa. Dricdo*, or *Dridoens*, lib. 2. de Eccleſ. Scrip. & Dog. c. 1. p. 1. *Lindanus*, lib. 3. c. 1. de optimo genere interpretandi. *Melchior Canus*, lib. 2. de locis Theologicis, cap. 12. *Sixtus Senenſis*, lib. 8. Bibl. ſanct. pag. ult. *Jud. Titelanus*, Apolog. pro Conc. *Trid.* pag. 99. ultimæ editionis *Lovanienſis*, anni 1568. *Melchior Zangerus*, in Colla. Cath. cap. 2. *Diegus Payra*, Apol. pro Conc. *Trid.* lib. 4. Beſides thoſe already named.

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IT has been objected to the effigy of CARDINAL POLE, which is prefixed to the firſt part of this work, and repreſents him as advanced in years, that it is attributed to *Raphael*, who died in the year 1520, when the *Cardinal* was only in the twentieth year of his age. But the objectors did not reflect, that beſides *Raphael* of *Urbino*, who died in the year they mention, there were ſeveral other great maſters of that name. To go no further than *Raphael del Colle Borgheſe*, who flouriſhed chiefly whilſt CARDINAL POLE was in *Italy*, and the prime of whoſe life coincides with the decline of the CARDINAL's: he was one of the moſt celebrated artiſts under *Guilio Romano*, the favourite diſciple of *Raphael* of *Urbino*, and ſo eſteemed by his maſter, that he made him one of his heirs, on condition he would finiſh the pieces he left imperfect. *Guilio* died in 1546, and thoſe who have ſeen the paintings of the hall of *Conſtantine* and other public places in *Rome*, and in the ſtately palace of *Mantua*, may remember the works of maſter and ſcholar. They may likewiſe recollect the likeneſs of the effigy in queſtion to the buſts and pictures of the CARDINAL, which are ſtill preſerved in the Papal and other collections. It has alſo a great reſemblance to the print prefixed to the firſt part of *Quirini*'s collection of his letters: and, to come to proofs nearer home, to that in *Burnet*'s *Hiſt. Ref.* engraved by *White*; that in *Larrey*'s *Hiſt. d'Ang.* by *P. à Gunſt*, which, tho' ſmall, is executed with great elegance: and, laſtly, to a very large and beautiful print in the collection of *Andrew Stone*, Eſq; which repreſents the CARDINAL in a ſitting poſture, and bears the name of *Raphael*.

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HAVING finiſhed the ſubject of CARDINAL POLE's Life, I ſhould aſk the Reader's pardon for troubling him with any thing ſo much below it as myſelf. But the various and liberal abuſe which has been beſtowed on the Author and the performance makes it neceſſary that I ſhould reply to an article, which has been chiefly inſiſted on, and in which I am not ſo much concerned as a writer, as a member of the community and a ſubject. Had the objections been made to the work as falling ſhort of what ſhould recommend a hiſtory, I ſhould have been ſilent on that head, being ſenſible that no cauſe is more deſperate than that of a work which ſtands in need of being defended by the Author. Neither am I ſo arrant an Author as to deſire, if I have fallen into any miſtakes, that others ſhould not be rightly informed, becauſe I have been in the wrong; and I have too real a reſpect for the public to trouble it with wrangles on facts, or dates, or authorities, of little or no conſequence, and which may pleaſe a caviller or amuſe a mere critic, but will hardly entertain a Reader, who is every thing but that. This I mean not only as to what concerns the truth of the facts that are alledged, but alſo as to the juſtneſs of the reaſoning on them, which has been equally attacked. The accuſation likewiſe of Plagiariſm, which has been brought againſt me, is ſubmitted to the deciſion of every equitable and intelligent Reader, when he has collated the paſſages; but not to the ſpleen of a determined adverſary, who ſets out with no other view than to find fault. However, if the language, the deſcriptions, the images, the drawing of the characters, and, what the *French* term *l'ordonnance du tableau*, the deſign and colouring of the whole

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piece, be the Author's genuine product, I don't ſee how he can be treated as a plagiary. I give a hiſtory of facts, which happened 200 years ago, and conſequently muſt have been related by many others, and ſometimes very differently. I have not only conſulted original documents, but alſo intermediate writers, whoſe authority appeared warrantable; and have not ſwelled the notes with endleſs and unneceſſary references to books and authors ſufficiently indicated throughout the whole work.

I ſhall therefore, as I ſaid, be ſilent as to any of theſe and the like heads, and leave the hiſtory to be tried by its own merit, as it muſt ſtand or fall by that alone. The charge I mean to anſwer is that which is brought againſt my religious tenets, which are ſaid to be inconſiſtent with the welfare of my country, and that every *Engliſhman*, who profeſſes them, muſt be a ſecret enemy to the government under which he lives. The whole work is repreſented to proceed on principles, which cauſe the abettors of them to overlook all the duties they owe to ſociety, the allegiance and ſubmiſſion due to the legiſlature, and, like *Aaron*'s ſerpent, to ſwallow up every other conſideration. On this ſuppoſition, one of my cenſurers, in the motto of his criticiſm, has ranked me *with the impious and declared enemies of the public welfare*; *impiis hominibus et hoſtibus*. A ſtrange aſſociation for a perſon, who is not conſcious of having entertained a thought or written a line, which could ſavour of diſreſpect or diſaffection either to the excellent conſtitution of his country, or the royal family, under whoſe protection he has the happineſs to live; or the miniſtry. But this writer and the others, who have taken up the ſame cauſe, every where proceed as if the imputation was made

made out, and they were appointed to inflict the punishment due to it. NUMB. IV.

I should be wanting to what each man of probity owes to himself, was I to sit down unconcerned at such a reproach; and be still more unjust to a cause, for which I have the highest reverence, if, after having furnished a pretext to misrepresent it in the grossest manner, I neglected to clear it from these aspersions, and shew that, in order to be approved, it needs only to be seen in a fair light. I shall therefore set before those, who have brought this charge against the work and the Author, the principles they have so much mistaken, and desire these may be tried by the good sense and equity of my Readers, when they are informed what it is they are to decide on. They indeed might justly be offended, did I entertain the least doubt of their receiving in good part what a writer has to say in his own defence to an accusation of such a nature, and being as impartial and dispassionate as my accusers have been otherwise. And though, as a private person, I cannot presume to answer either for the principles or dispositions of others, yet I am willing to think, that what I am about to advance, will be disowned by very few or none of those, who profess the same religion, and have stated the case to themselves, and drawn the consequences which necessarily result from it.

I shall begin by acknowledging, that submission to the government we live under is of such necessity, that without it no order can be kept up in a state, and consequently nothing concerted or carried on either for its safety or advantage. On this principle, the supreme Being, who best knew of what importance to the welfare of mankind this obedience was, condemns to death whoever disobeys the public authority. "The man who

"shall

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" ſhall do preſumptuouſly, and ſhall not hearken
" unto the judge, even that man ſhall die; and
" thou ſhalt put away the evil from *Iſrael*; and
" all the people ſhall hear and fear, and do no
" more preſumptuouſly."

To prevent this evil, the ſame beneficent Being delegated his authority to all magiſtrates; and one who was very well informed of the Lawgiver's meaning, explains it in the following precept, and gives the reaſon for it: " Let every one be ſub-
" ject unto higher powers; for there is no power
" but from God: the powers that are, God has
Rom. xiii. 1. " ordained; whoſoever, therefore, reſiſts the
" power, reſiſts the ordinance of God." " Put
" them in mind to be ſubject to principalities and
Tit. iii. 1. " powers, to obey magiſtrates." Thus, we ſee, rulers and magiſtrates are deputies of the ſupreme Ruler, and inveſted with authority by him; and, for that reaſon, are called by the ſame interpreter of the divine will, " the miniſters or officers of
Rom. xiii. 4. " God;" and by the author of the book of *Wiſdom*, " the adminiſtrators of his kingdoms, that
Wiſd. vi. 4. " is, of this world." Nor does the Apoſtle think it enough to have declared the order, but having expounded it on the principles we have ſeen, he goes on to the motives by which mankind ſhould be wrought on to comply with it, and concludes in this manner: " Wherefore, ye muſt needs be
" ſubject, not only for the fear of wrath, but for
Rom. xiii. 5. " conſcience ſake." St. *Peter* inculcates the ſame command with equal energy: " Submit your-
" ſelves, ſays he, to every ordinance of man for
" the Lord's ſake; whether it be to a King,
" as the chief ruler; or unto governors, as to
" them who are ſent by him—for ſuch is the
1 Pet. ii. 13. " will of God." Theſe and many more paſſages to the ſame purpoſe prove what I laid down as the ground-work of all ſociety; and there is no revealed

vealed truth which reſts on greater evidence of the word of God, than that obedience is due to every legal government on a principle of religion and morality. It is, moreover, to be particularly remarked, that when *Jeſus Chriſt* ſays to the *Jews*, "render to *Cæſar* the things that are *Cæſar*'s," he enters into no diſcuſſion of the right or title on which the authority of the *Roman* Emperors was eſtabliſhed: it was enough, that, having found them in poſſeſſion, and the acknowledged maſters of that country, in which he was pleaſed to be born and live, he would have the order appointed by God and the foundation of public tranquillity revered in their authority. NUM. IV.

He behaved in the ſame manner when he was accuſed before *Pilate*, who was appointed governor of *Judea*, on the part of the ſame people; and acknowledges, "that this magiſtrate's juriſdiction had been conferred on him from above," and conſequently that it was legal. He is ſilent as to any queſtion that might be made on the *Roman* Emperor's right to the ſovereign authority; on the tribunitian power, and that of Emperor or Captain-general, and other branches of the government being united in the ſame perſon; on the freedom of the Senate and *Roman* people, when all theſe titles were accumulated, on the right the Emperors had to perpetuate them in their families, and even make them over to their adopted children: or, laſtly, on the lawfulneſs of the title by which the *Romans* held *Judea*. The Son of God does not mention a word of all this. He would have the world ſubmit to the eſtabliſhed government, becauſe he would have its inhabitants live in order and peace, and has left to different nations, and their lawgivers, the liberty of giving that form of government to their ſeveral ſtates John xix. 11.

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which they like beſt. This is what we are chiefly concerned to know.

But, that no information on ſo important an article might be wanting, our great Inſtructor has taken care we ſhould be acquainted with the different degrees of the ſubmiſſion I have been ſpeaking of, that, when the powers we are to obey enact laws, or injoin inſtances of obedience contrary to each other, we might know how to behave; and this ſubordination of the different departments, of which government is made up, is no leſs eſſential to the welfare of mankind than government itſelf: "Submit yourſelves to the King, as to the "chief or ſupreme ruler; or to governors, as un-"to them who are ſent by him." And the author of the book of *Eccleſiaſtes* obſerves, "that, in "the plan on which government is formed, there "are various gradations of authority; that one "perſon is placed over another; that the power-"ful receive orders from others ſtill more power-"ful than themſelves; and that the whole body "of the people obey that power in which the ſo-"reign authority reſides."

A ſuitable ſubmiſſion, therefore, is due to every one according to his rank; and we are not to obey any private magiſtrate to the prejudice of what we owe to a higher power. The ſupreme of all dominions is that of God; and, to ſpeak with propriety, he is the only ſovereign Ruler to whom all others are ſubordinate, on whom they depend, from whom they derive their authority. On the ſame principle, therefore, on which we obey a private magiſtrate, if he exacts nothing contrary to the orders of a higher power, we likewiſe comply with whatever the legiſlature requires of us, provided it enjoins nothing contrary to the divine law: and, by a neceſſary induction, as we are not to pay any regard to whatever a particular magiſtrate

ſtrate requires of us, in oppoſition to the duty we owe to the legiſlature; much leſs are we to comply with any legiſlature in contradiction to the law of God. In this caſe, and in this only, the anſwer of the Apoſtles to the *Jewiſh* magiſtrates has place, "we ought to obey God before "men." *Acts* v. 29.

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But, this exception allowed, we are always to reſpect, always to ſubmit to the government. The ſtate muſt be in danger, and the public tranquillity could have no conſiſtence, was it lawful for particular members of the community to diſpute its authority, or riſe up againſt its orders. The high office which it executes ſhould place it out of the reach of inſult, and make it appear no leſs venerable than eſſential to the well-being of each individual. The ſacred writings are full of precepts and examples, which ſet forth this duty; and I look on it as a happineſs to have no unchriſtian baſhfulneſs, either in acknowledging their influence, or ſelfiſh view in endeavouring to extend it. They inform us, for our inſtruction, no doubt, that *David* not only refuſed to take away *Saul*'s life, but trembled for having cut off the border of his garment, though with a deſign which ſeems to juſtify the action from any appearance of diſreſpect. The ſame book, from which this paſſage is taken, furniſhes us with the following leſſon on the reſpect due to government, in the behaviour of *Samuel* towards one who was at the head of it.

The Prophet, though he had declared to *Saul* that God had caſt him off, ſtill gives him every outward mark of honour and reſpect. "I have "done evil, ſays the King, now, therefore, I pray "thee, ſupplicate for my ſin, and go back "with me, that I may worſhip the Lord. But "*Samuel* refuſed to do it, and ſaid, becauſe he "had

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" had ſet at nought the orders of God, that God
" alſo had ſet him aſide, and he ſhould no longer
" be King of *Iſrael*; and turning away, the King
" laid hold of his mantle, and rent it: on which
" the Prophet ſaid, even ſo has the Lord rent
" the kingdom of *Iſrael*, on this day, from thee,
" and given it to thy neighbour, a better man
" than thyſelf. Moreover, the mighty one of
" *Iſrael* will not unſay what he has pronoun-
" ced; nor, like weak man, repent of his de-
" ſigns. I have ſinned, replied *Saul*, but honour
" me in the preſence of the elders of my people,
" and in the ſight of *Iſrael*, and return with
" me to adore the Lord thy God; upon which
" *Samuel* went back with *Saul*, and adored the
1 *Sam.* xxiv. " Lord."

The reprobation of a Prince could not be denounced in plainer terms; yet the Prophet lets himſelf at length be prevailed on, and conſents to honour *Saul* before the nobles and the commonalty; and teaches us, by this behaviour, that the public good requires that thoſe in whom the legiſlature is inveſted ſhould never be expoſed to contempt.

Nor can it be objected, that theſe facts concern a particular people, whoſe policy had little relation with the government under which we live; becauſe it is clear, from the general expreſſions in which the obſervations are made, and the precepts given, and from the whole air of the narration, that every mode of government is intereſted in the obſervance of them, and that they were deſigned by the divine Spirit, under whoſe guidance they were penned, to be tranſmitted down to us, and to take place wherever there were men.

The behaviour of the beſt and greateſt men among the people of God, under the following Kings,

Kings, inforces the ſame duty with equal clearneſs and energy. The ſucceſſion was frequently changed, and fell to the lot of Princes who ſeem to have had little claim to obedience, but that which is founded in public utility. The moſt illuſtrious of the Prophets lived under very unpopular and wicked Kings; and *Elijah*, and his diſciple *Eliſha*, in the reign of *Ahab* and *Jezabel*; *Iſaiah*, in that of *Ahaz*; *Jeremiah*, in that of *Jehoiakim* and *Zedekiah*; and yet they diſtinguiſhed themſelves by a deference to the government they found eſtabliſhed; and were ſo far from encouraging in the people a ſpirit of diſcontent, that their whole behaviour was a leſſon of ſubmiſſion and reſpect. *Jeremiah*, when *Jeruſalem* was a heap of ruins, and the throne of *Judah* entirely overthrown, ſtill ſpeaks of King *Zedekiah* with the greateſt reverence. The thinking and deſerving part of the nation gave every mark of attachment to a government, even after it was ſubverted; and the priſon and chains of the Prince did not leſſen, in the eſtimate of a Prophet, the majeſty of the legiſlature, nor hinder him from reverencing the laws of his country in the perſon who, by his character, ſhould have been the guardian of them. NUMB. IV.

On the ſame principle the great founder of the *Perſian* monarchy, though an idolater, is ſtiled "the Anointed of the Lord;" and *Nebuchadnezzar*, who carried pride and impiety ſo far as to claim divine honours, is, nevertheleſs, addreſſed by a Prophet in this pompous ſpeech, "You are "the King of kings, and the God of heaven has "conferred on you royalty, power, and empire "and glory:" and the people of God are commanded to pray for the preſervation of this prince and his ſon *Belſhazzar*, and other Heathens under whom they lived; for which order the inſpired writer aſſigns a reaſon, the weight of which is

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Baruch, i. 11.

felt by every one, "becauſe their own tranquillity depended on the flouriſhing ſtate of the "government under which they lived." *Ahab* and *Jezabel* had cauſed the prophets to be put to death; and though *Elijah* expoſtulates with almighty God on that ſubject, he did nothing that could favour ſedition; and the Prophets themſelves had wrought prodigies in favour of the King, and for the defence of the kingdom. *Eliſha* behaved in the ſame manner in the reign of *Joram*, *Ahab*'s ſon, and no leſs wicked than his father. Nothing could be more outrageous than the impiety of *Manaſſes*, who is ſaid, by way of excellence, if I may ſpeak in this manner, to have ſinned, and to have made *Iſrael* ſin againſt God, whoſe worſhip he would have aboliſhed; and yet *Iſaiah*, and the other Prophets, who reproach him with his crimes, never let fall a ſingle word which could indiſpoſe the people to his government.

The ſame principle and practice has been perpetuated under the Chriſtian diſpenſation, and thoſe whom we glory to have been our anceſtors, diſtinguiſh themſelves by it. It was under the reign of *Tiberius*, not only an infidel, but one of the worſt of men; that the Son of God ſaid to the *Jews*, "render to *Cæſar* the things that belong "to *Cæſar*;" to pay tribute to *Cæſar*, which was a public acknowledgment of his authority and their allegiance. St. *Paul* appeals to the Emperor, and acknowledges his juriſdiction; he orders public prayers to be offered up for all Kings and Princes; and this ordinance was made in the reign of *Nero*, the moſt deteſted monſter that ever diſgraced human nature; and the Apoſtle makes the public tranquillity the reaſon of theſe ſupplications. We have ſeen the terms with which both he and St. *Peter* injoin ſubmiſſion to the Princes of

of their reſpective ſtates; and we all know what perſons thoſe were, in whom the holy Apoſtles would have their followers reſpect the order of God. NUM. IV.

In conſequence of theſe ſentiments, the Chriſtians, though perſecuted during 300 years, never once entertained a thought of cauſing any diſturbance in the empire; and their diſpoſitions, on this head, are ſet forth in *Tertullian*, and thro' the whole courſe of the church-hiſtory. They prayed for the Emperors in the midſt of thoſe torments, to which they had unjuſtly condemned them. "You act a very becoming part, cries "out *Tertullian*, equitable judges! in tearing "from the Chriſtians a ſoul, which pours itſelf "out in prayers for the government." The ſon of the great *Conſtantine*, though a protector of the *Arians*, experienced an inviolable fidelity in the members of the Catholic Church, and the Apoſtate, his ſucceſſor, who endeavoured to re-eſtabliſh idolatry, found the Chriſtians equally faithful and zealous in his ſervice. The ſucceeding Princes, who left the communion of the church, *Valens*, *Juſtinian*, *Zenon*, *Baſilicus*, *Anaſtaſius*, *Heraclius*, *Conſtans*, who baniſhed the Catholic Biſhops, and even the Popes, and committed every kind of cruelty on thoſe who refuſed to ſubſcribe to their errors, never ſaw their authority diſputed by the Catholics: and during 700 years, as the great *Boſſuet* has obſerved, we do not read of a ſingle inſtance of the government being diſturbed on the pretence of religion. In the eighth century the whole empire continued faithful to *Leo*, a native of *Iſauria*, the protector of the *Iconoclaſts*, and a declared enemy of the Catholic Church: and under his ſon *Copronimous*, who inherited his errors and cruelty, as well as his crown, the eaſtern Chriſtians only oppoſed patience to perſecu- *Tertul.* Apol.

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tion. But, at the fall of the empire, when thoſe who governed it could ſcarcely defend the eaſt, to which they had confined themſelves; *Rome*, given up a prey for almoſt 200 years, to the people of *Lombardy*, was conſtrained to implore the ſuccour of the *Franks*, and to withdraw herſelf from maſters who took no further concern about her.

The ſtate of oppreſſion, of which I have given inſtances in the preceding article, and ſeveral others which might be produced, though, as has been ſaid, they do not authorize the ſufferers to overt acts of hoſtility; yet they ſhew, that thoſe who are ill at eaſe, have always thought it lawful to endeavour at more deſirable circumſtances. That mankind, therefore, might be provided with every neceſſary inſtruction, on an affair of ſuch moment, the inſpired writings have informed us, what means of redreſs are to be made uſe of by thoſe who think themſelves injured or oppreſſed by the government they live under; and thoſe who muſt be ſuppoſed to have beſt underſtood the ſpirit and meaning of theſe inſtructions, have given us, in their own behaviour, the cleareſt comment on them. When God was about to free his people from the bondage of *Egypt*, and the tyranny of *Pharaoh*, he did not allow them to proceed in a hoſtile manner, though againſt a King, who had treated them with the utmoſt inhumanity. They petitioned, in reſpectful terms, to go and ſacrifice to God in the deſert, three days journey from the capital; and if it is to be preſumed that Princes will not refuſe the equitable requeſts of particular perſons, much leſs will they deny paying a regard to the remonſtrance of a conſiderable body of their people. *Pharaoh*, hardened as he was, received, from *Moſes* and *Aaron*, the complaints of the *Iſraelites*, and admitted to his

his preſence the repreſentatives of the people, who complained of their grievances, and ſaid, "why "dealeſt thou thus with thy ſervants?" The behaviour of the ſame people, when their ruin was reſolved, at the inſtigation of *Aman*, was conducted with the like moderation. The Queen, who was of that nation, preſents the petition in behalf of her countrymen, and the people offer up their prayers that it may be attended with ſucceſs. I might produce ſeveral ſimilar inſtances of the moſt eminent perſons, whilſt *Rome* was yet *Pagan*; and, afterwards, under Emperors, who attempted to eſtabliſh *Arianiſm*, and other erroneous doctrines, with a zeal not leſs furious and cruel than that idolatry which would have aboliſhed Chriſtianity.

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It can never, therefore, be deemed a breach of that reſpect which is due to the government from the whole community, if any part of it remonſtrates on hardſhips they lie under, and petition for a redreſs. They who approach the throne on this errand, cannot fail of being graciouſly heard by a juſt and humane Prince, and by a mild and equitable legiſlature, when the grant of the favour is not made the condition of their ſubmiſſion who ſue for it. This plea has ſtill greater weight, when the hardſhips were impoſed in times and circumſtances, in which the preſent ſufferers are no more concerned, than the Prince and legiſlature we have the happineſs to live under, were in inflicting them.

If the critics of the hiſtory of the Life of CARDINAL POLE are pleaſed to repreſent ſuch principles and diſpoſitions, and a conduct guided by them, as inconſiſtent with the public welfare and tranquillity, ſuch cavils can only injure their abettors, and thoſe who have not temper to overlook them. Cenſure and obloquy, deſerved or undeſerved,

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ſerved, will have their day; with this difference, that time, which wears away the impreſſions of prejudice, confirms the judgment of reaſon. But this declaration ſeemed ſeaſonable, and what the author owed to himſelf, to his religion, and to the public; in caſe the public thinks fit to intereſt itſelf in this diſcuſſion. This he knows, that he loves and reverences his country, that he means well, and wiſhes every good and happineſs to it, and that nothing ſhall ever be able either to change or weaken this diſpoſition.

The courſe of the work, indeed, neceſſarily led him to ſeveral facts, which are very blameable: but this is no more an argument of a writer's want of love and regard for his country, than taking notice of the barren and unpleaſant ſpots would prove a ſurveyor's ill-will to it; becauſe his plan had taken in blemiſhes, which accuracy did not allow him to overlook or conceal. Nor is he the firſt, or the only perſon that has mentioned theſe facts, and made ſuch obſervations on them, as, without much ſeeking, come volunteers to the Reader's mind, and are of that ſort, of which the poet ſays,

*Quæ ſpectator tradit ſibi.*

And he has taken particular care, that the actions which chiefly fully the times and perſons which are concerned in them, ſhould have vouchers, who will never be ſuſpected of having exaggerated their defects.

THE END.